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The Zealous, and Impartial

PROTESTANT,

SHEWING

Some great, but less heeded DANGERS

OF

POPERY.

In Order to

Thorough and Effectual Security against it.

In a LETTER to a Member of Parliament.

By *Jos. Glanvill*, D.D. late Rector of *Bathe*, and Chaplain in Ordinary to His Majesty.

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The Zealous *and* Impartial

PROTESTANT.

SIR,

WE have discourst a great deal of the Popish *Plot*, and the commonly acknowledg'd dangers of *Popery*: On *that* side we are justly sensible of our Perils, and have not much need of more Warnings to look about us. But all the danger of Popery doth not lie *one* way; it hath other Methods to advance its Interests besides *Killing* and *Burning*; and of some of *those* I doubt we are not sufficiently aware. Like the percht Phesant we look so intently at the danger that makes the loud Noise, that we little heed the Enemy behind the Bush, that is ready to shoot us off. I remember I said when I last waited on you, that there are ways in which Popery is *silently* promoted; I shall now represent some of them to you with Honest, and Impartial plainness, as becomes one, who is an hearty enemy to Popery in all the Steps, and Methods of it. And

THe *First occasion* of our *farther* Danger that I shall mention, is, the present *Diminution*, (not to say *Extinction*) *of Reverence to the Authority of the Church of* England, ~~and~~ the *Protestant* Reformation, by Law establish't. *Popery* was not thrown out here by *Rebellion*, *Sedition*, or popular *Tumults*; but *this Church* was in a regular way Reformed, by the deliberate

and grave Counſels of our *Rulers*; *Theſe* our *Reformers* purged out the *Roman* Corruptions; and in their ſteads, ſettled the *Ancient Primitive Chriſtianity*, which was eſtabliſh'd by all the Authority of the Kingdom, both *Eccleſiaſtical*, and *Civil*: and *this Eſtabliſhment* in Doctrine, Diſcipline, and Worſhip, is that by which we know the *Church of England*.

This, our pious Reformers, *Kings* and *Parliaments*, by the advice of Learned, Grave *Divines*, Biſhops, and others, ſetled, and bound upon us by moſt ſolemn Sanctions; *this* they fixt as the *National Profeſſion*, to ſtand ſo in *all Times*, and not to ſerve only for a *preſent Expedient* (as ſome talk in their Dream) for their *Reformation* they founded upon the *Holy Scripture*, and upon the Doctrine, and Practice of the *Firſt* and *Pureſt* Times, of the Primitive *Fathers* and *Councils*, *Chriſt* himſelf being the *Corner-Stone*: And the Grounds being *unalterable*, the thing ſetled on them, ought (in the main) to be *ſo*, and muſt have been ſo intended by thoſe Excellent men, who ſo well knew what they did, and the Reaſons of their ſo doing.

Here was our Religion now purged from *Popery*; a Religion that in the whole Conſtitution of it, hath the greateſt *antipathy* to that corrupt Profeſſion; this is our *old Proteſtantiſm*, *that*, which was perſecuted by *Papiſts* with Fire, and Faggot; *that*, which divers of the *Reformers* themſelves ſealed with their *Blood*, in oppoſition to *Popiſh Idolatries*, and *Superſtitions*: This was the *Way*, the *Religion* of the happy *Elizabeth-Days*, which are yet ſo Celebrated, ſo glorious among Proteſtants; and *that* finally, which was ſtood to, contended for, to the Death, by the *Royal Martyr*, King *Charles* the Firſt. Here then is the *ſtanding Bulwark* againſt Popery, this is *Primitive Chriſtianity* reſtored, our *Anti-papiſtry*: The *Proteſtantiſm* we underſtand, and can defend: and the Eſtabliſhment and Maintenance of *this*, is our ſecurity againſt the *Popiſh* Depravations.

When we would deſtroy *this*, ſome thing we muſt ſet up; the *Church of England* is that which our Proteſtant Law-givers have

have erected, have by ſo many Laws confirmed; *This* now is twiſted with our *Monarchy*, and the whole frame of our Civil Government: ſo that the overthrow of one, will be the deſtruction of both. If *this Church* ſhould be overturned (which God forbid) confuſion in the State muſt follow, and then Anarchy, and cutting Throats; and 'tis moſt likely, *Popery* at laſt. For when this Conſtitution is ruined, we muſt to *new Modelling*; And *where* ſhall we *reſt?* Every Pretence, every Way hath as much right, as any other of the Competitors; and then we fall into a Scufle, and endleſs Diſorders; and who but the *Roman Church* will get by that? If *this Fortification* ſhould be diſmantled, before we could get another in the place of it, *Popery*, in all likelihood, would be with us.

Now this Bulwark we are (many of us) throwing down, and taking away the Ordinance, and Artillery: Or rather we *have done* it, in great part; and have made the Church *weak*, and *defenceleſs*. The *Authority*, the *Coercive* Power, in effect, is gone: And what doth Vice, or Humour, or Faction care for *Words*, *Papers*, *Arguments? Excommunication* is the penalty, and we know how little that is made to ſignifie: ſo that the Church is obeyed by as many as pleaſe, and as long as thoſe pleaſe: Such as will, not at all, or but in this, and that, take their own courſe, and there is but little remedy. This is the plain, ſad truth. *Laws* we have ſtill, but the multitude of Offenders (with other things) make all in a manner unpracticable. The *Authority* of the Church, and the *Reverence*, is loſt and gone; the People diſſolv'd, and at looſe: They fear not, they care not for *Eccleſiaſtical Laws*, or *Penalties*: They will follow their *own* Ways, and the *Teachers* they have *heap'd up to themſelves*; and the few that are left with us, are (divers of them) ready to be gone too, as ſoon as they are puniſh'd, or take Pet, and the Governors, and Miniſters of the Church do not humour them. So that the ſtrength of the Church is broken; little of the *Fortreſs* is left ſtanding, beſides the *dead Walls*; and even *theſe* many would have down too: *Down with it, down with it even to the ground*, is the Cry.

This is a *ſad* part of the ſtate of our *Church*, and this its weak, almoſt ruined Condition, hath no doubt been the great temptation to many to deſert it. Every Conſtitution, every Government ought to have *Authority*, and *Power*; or it is *Precarious*, and will be in a little time *Contemptible*: And ours having been made *ſo* by the loſs of its ſtrength, and due force, no wonder if it falls into diſeſteem, even among divers that formerly revered it: No wonder if theſe, being ſo *prejudiced*, betake themſelves to a *Church* which *hath Authority*, hath *Power*. They have been brought up (perhaps) under a ſenſe of the *neceſſity* of *Eccleſiaſtical* Government and Authority; of the *Obedience*, and *Reverence* that is due to the Church, and its Conſtitutions; and of the *Miſchiefs*, *Schiſms*, and *Confuſions* that ariſe from the want of theſe: And then obſerving, that our Church is ſo weakned, ſo diſabled, ſo deſpiſed and affronted, they bid adieu to it, and betake themſelves to *that Corrupt*, *Idolatrous Church*, that yet hath *Authority*, hath *Rule* over its Members.

This, Sir, I dare ſay, hath been one of the chief occaſions of the late *increaſe* of *Popery*, and *Papiſts*, and the revolt of ſo many from the Reformed Communion. For *one*, and the moſt immediate conſequent of want of Power in any Church, is *general Careleſsneſs*, and *Neglects*, and the loſs of all *Solemnity* in Worſhip: Congregations will be *thin*, and their Deportment, and publick Devotions *negligent*, and indecent, which greatly ſcandalize the regular and truly devout, who are therefore the more eaſily tempted to put themſelves among thoſe with whom there is more appearance of *decence* and *ſolemnity*, in the exerciſe of Religion.

This hath been a *Rock* of *offence*, and *Stone* of *ſtumbling*: The *way* to remove it, and to prevent the further Miſchiefs, would be to *Eſtabliſh the Church of England*, and to give it *Authority*.

We are at preſent very *zealous* againſt *Popery*, (thanks be to God for any true Zeal againſt falſe Worſhip) but methinks too much of our Zeal is only *Negative*; we are for *throwing down*

Popery,

Popery, but we talk little of *eſtabliſhing any thing*; and while 'tis ſo, our Zeal is lame, and imperfect, and will never effect any thing to purpoſe. If we will ſecure our ſelves againſt *Papiſm* effectually, we muſt fix, and eſtabliſh ſome *Conſtitution* of *Religion*, that may be a *conſtant Fence* againſt it. *Popery* we will not have; ſo far we are *right*, but what are we for? Something we muſt: *Popery* will not be run down by *Atheiſm*; if we have no Religion, or none Eſtabliſh'd (which will come to the ſame) the *Roman* Religion will prevail, at long run, in deſpight of us: *Some* Religion (the worſt) will be too hard for *none*; at leaſt 'twill have mens *Hearts*, and then above half the work is done. We muſt not think to keep out *Popery* by meer *brutal force*, as the Heathens attempted to extinguiſh *Chriſtianity*: If we would go the *right*, the *effectual way*, we ſhould endeavour it by *profeſſing*, by *ſettling* a *better*, a more *Catholick*, more *ancient*, more *holy* Religion than *theirs*. A *bad* Religion is moſt effectually driven out by a *good*; not by *none*.

Well, ſomething muſt be eſtabliſh'd; And what do we deſire? Would we have *Presbytery*? That is *new*; that is different from the *Primitive* uſage of the Chriſtian Church, that is *unformed* yet by the very ~~Nation of the~~ Patrons, of the Notion, 'tis an *Idea* different as every mans phancy is, the men themſelves have not yet agreed upon the *Scheme*; and God knows when they would agree, if the Matter were left to them; and when that is done, What may it coſt us before it can be eſtabliſh'd? How long may it be before the People are well reconciled to the Novelty? And if ever it be eſtabliſh'd, the *Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy* is gone from the right place, and indeed the *Royal Power* every where is loſt. The *King* is a *Subject*. He hath only changed his *Lord*, *one* for *many*, the *Pope*, for the *Synod* and *Elders*. The *Gentry* and *People* are, *ipſo facto*, *Slaves*; and then we have talkt, and contrived well for *Liberty*. Let *Presbytery* be conſidered where it hath been, in *Geneva*, *Scotland*, little Eſſays of it in *England*, and then let any tell me if it be not *ſo*. He that owns not this, knows it not, We ſhall then neither *Marry*, nor take a *Servant*, nor diſpoſe of a *Child*, nor order

order any of our *Domeſtique Affairs*, without the cognizance, and arbitrement of the *Elders:* Every word we ſpeak, every thing we do, muſt come under their cenſure, and be expoſed to their Chaſtiſement. It will, in ſhort, be a *Yoke* to our Necks, which neither *We*, nor *our Children* will ever be able to bear. And I doubt not but thoſe that underſtand themſelves and *it*, will be ready to ſay, We would not have this. Let thoſe that know it not, read the late *Hiſtory* of *Scotland*, and then ſpeak if they would.

But what then would we be at? Is it *Independency* we would have? This is a thing different from the practice of the whole Chriſtian World, unknown to Ancient, or later Times, except here in the days of Rebellion, and in *New England* now. *Popery* takes away *one* of the Elements from the *Laity* in the *Sacrament* of the *Lord's Supper*, *this* takes away *both Elements* from *all*, but a very few; for they impropriate the Communion to their *ſeparated* Company. *Popery* takes away part of *one* Sacrament, *theſe* take away the *whole* of *both* Sacraments; for they allow not *Baptiſm* to be Adminiſtred, but to the Children of their own Sect. *Popery* keeps the *Scriptures* up in an *unknown Tongue*; and *theſe* make it a *dead Letter*, a nothing to *all*, but thoſe that have *their Spirit* to underſtand, and interpret. *Popery* damns *all* the *World*, that is without the pale of their pretended *Catholick* Church, and theſe *unchurch*, *unchriſtian all*, but a few *Hypocrites*, *Phanatiques* of their own ſort. One of them, *Lewis Du Moulin*, *Cromwel's* Hiſtorian in *Oxford*, hath writ a Pamphlet lately, to prove, *That not one in an* 100000 (*nay, probably not one in a Million*) *ſince* Adam, *ſhall be ſaved*; and that *one* is an *Independent*, no doubt. *Popery* requires *auricular Confeſſion* to a Prieſt; and *theſe* require a *particular Story* of every mans *Converſion* before their Congregation, as the firſt neceſſary condition of Communion. *Popery* pretends that the *Roman* Church is *Infallible*; and *theſe* reckon every one of their private Spirits to be little leſs. So that *this* in many things ſymbolizeth with, and is as intolerable as Popery it ſelf; and what the *Tyranny* of it is, may be read in the

Story

Story of our late *Confusions*, particularly in the *History* of *Independency:* And *New England* can let us know, how gentle they are, where they have Power, and how much for *Liberty* of *Conscience*; for they there Hang up their own Off-spring, the *Quakers*, for professing, and living to the *Principles*, that they themselves teach.

And both *Presbyterians*, and *Independents* agree with *Papists* in *this* also, *viz. In binding the heavy burdens of their own disputable* (and some of them impious, and absurd) *Doctrines, upon the Minds and Consciences of men, under the penalty of being Unchurch'd, and Ruined:* They are both severe *Inquisitors* into mens Opinions, and will allow no *latitude* of *thinking* beyond their *dear Orthodoxy*, contain'd in their *large Confessions* of *Faith*; which are *Creeds* they make, over and above the *Apostolick*, and *Primitive* ones, as the *Papists* do, *teaching for Doctrines* (necessary fundamental Doctrines) *the Traditions of men*, those of their own Party.

These therefore I suppose, and hope, will not suit us; I am sure they will not suit either *Monarchy* in Government, nor the *Liberty* of the *Subject:* No, they will comport with nothing but *Democracy*, or *Anarchy*, both which are Tyrannies, and the worst sort. And I believe few or none of the intelligent *English* Gentlemen can think of them.

But, what then can we desire? what can we propose to have? Is there some *know not what*, yet to be found out? Is there any *new* Model yet to be invented, unknown, unpractised in any Age, or Nation of the Christian World? Many there are in the Brains of conceited men; *whose Wind-mill* shall be set up? What shall give it Reverence and Authority? What shall secure it against the rest that equally pretend? How shall it get hold upon the Consciences of men? or will we have a Religion without having Conscience concern'd?

What ever is set up as Religious Security against Popery, must stand on the grounds of *Scripture*, *right Reason*, and the best and purest *Antiquity*; *Popish* Corruptions do all consist in departure from *these*. If what we endeavour to establish be impeach-

impeachable by *Scripture*, *Reaſon*, or *Antiquity*; we deſtroy our own Grounds, and diſable our own Arguments againſt Popiſh Depravations. Upon *theſe* then we muſt ſtand, by *theſe* we muſt eſtabliſh; and if theſe things are *ſo*, what can we deſire, what can we think to have but our *Old*, *Proteſtant*, *Legal* Conſtitution of the *Church of England?* What but *this*, which is agreeable to *Scripture*, *Reaſon*, and *Primitive Chriſtianity* (as hath been proved by many learned men, to the ſhame both of *Papiſts*, and *Phanaticks* of all ſorts) accommodate to our Civil Government; wrought into our *Fundamental* Laws; ſuited to, and ſufficient for all our needs; *ſober* in its *Principles*, *moderate* in its *Government* and *Diſcipline:* Its *Articles* are not impoſed on the Conſcience as all *Fundamentals*, and of neceſſity to Salvation (as *Popiſh*, and *Presbyterian* Principles are) but as *pious wholſome* Doctrines, Articles of *Conſent*, for the avoidance of Controverſies, and Diſputes; its *Prayers* are *Grave* and *Serious*, without *affectation*, or *doubtful* Tenents: Its *Ceremonies few*, *ancient*, *decent*, declared to be in themſelves *alterable* and *indifferent*; its *Power* is owned to be only *Spiritual*; what *other* any *Eccleſiaſticks* have, is acknowledg'd to be the favour of Kings; it invades no rights of *Princes*, it ſecures *Obedience* to Government, and the intereſts of Societies: Its *Penalties* are all for *Correction*, not *Deſtruction*; it puniſheth none for *bare* Opinions; it readily receives Offenders into its Boſom on repentance; it is not forward to denounce Curſes againſt Diſſenters: It is very Candid, Charitable, and Ingenuous to other Churches; it was reformed by juſt Authority, with great Temper, and avoidance of Extreams. Theſe particulars, and a great many more to the ſame general purpoſe, have been fully proved by the learned Aſſerters of our Church, and lately in a particular worthy Diſcourſe of the *Moderation* of the *Church of England*, which is ſo much oppoſed becauſe ſo unhappy to be ſo little underſtood.

It will much concern us (now eſpecially) to ſtudy and conſider this Conſtitution, which is the only mean between dangerous Extreams; *that*, and that *only* which can be made to ſtand:

ſtand: Other Models are *Romantick*, *Unpracticable*, they may entertain the imagination of phantaſtical, buſie, unquiet *Innovators*; but will never be brought into a conſtant ſettlement of Practice; or be made any ſecurity to us againſt Popiſh Superſtitions: *This*, by the Grace of God, and Wiſe, Sober Counſels, and Endeavours, the *Church* of *England* may: And if any Mercy yet remain for ſo ſinful a People, it will be made ſo. It is, I am ſure, the duty of every Friend to his Country, of every hearty enemy to *Popery*, in his place to endeavout it.

Eſpecially Sir, ſuch Gentlemen as you, *Repreſentatives* of your Country in *Parliament*, I humbly think are concern'd to Conſult, and Act your part, in order to it. We honour you, and thank God for your great *Zeal* againſt *Popery*; you will effectually expreſs it to your future Glory, and your own, and the Nations laſting Security and Happineſs, by endeavouring to make *firm*, and to faſten our Foundations, by helping up the decayed Banks, and Dams, which the Wiſdom and Piety of our Kings, and Parliaments have made againſt the Inundation of that Ocean of Errors, and Superſtitions; by labouring to build up our almoſt ruined Walls, and to fortifie our Bulwarks, *viz.* To ſtrengthen the Religion of our *Proteſtant Reformation*, by Law Eſtabliſh'd; that it may be yet more firmly, and ſecurely ſettled. This, Sir, I hope you in particular will endeavour, and not give occaſion for that Reproach, that your Zeal is not for the ſafety of your *Religion*, but of your *Lands*. You cannot ſecure the latter, but by making the former ſafe; nor do this (I humbly believe) any other way. Your Father, Sir, and other Relations, were zealous Adherers to this Excellent Church, and ſuffered much for their King, and It, being very ſenſible of theſe truths. You inherit their great Eſtate, and I hope you do theſe their Virtues. You had through God's Bleſſing, and their Care, a pious Education in this Proteſtant Way, this you ſtill profeſs, and I hope will adhere to on all occaſions.

You ſee the Churches Enemies on the other ſide, thoſe that ſo lately deſtroy'd it, the King, Government and all, are

now as buſie as ever, and ſeem to be confident to do their Work again; they are always ſtirring, and induſtrious in our Difficulties and Dangers; *theſe* are *their opportunities*: *Their* buſineſs alſo is to deſtroy us, which if they could effect, they would by that make way for *Popery*, which they ſeem ſo earneſt againſt. You cannot but obſerve how they out-rage, traduce, abuſe, and flie at the poor diſtreſſed Church of *England*, the Fathers, and Sons of it. They think themſelves ſo ſecure of ſucceeding, that they do in a manner *declare* already: They have been always ſeeking Pretences, and are now glad at heart of the *Popiſh Plot*, becauſe of the opportunity, and advantages it gives them: and 'tis as plain as Light, that they would uſe it to ruine us the *other way*; and if they ſucceed, we are as certainly undone. I hope you will not be ſo intent on one Danger, as to neglect, and overſee the other: Yea, we fall at laſt into the *ſame* which we moſt fear, if they once drive us into *Confuſions* in Religion, which muſt unavoidably follow the deſtruction of the *Church* of *England*. So that with great reaſon I may affirm, that theſe Enemies of it, are *promoters* of *Popery*, notwithſtanding the loud noiſe they make againſt it. I hope when it pleaſeth God, and the King, that the Parliament ſhall meet, *You*, with the reſt of our *Patriots*, will conſider for the Confirmation, and Eſtabliſhment of our *Legal*, *Proteſtant* Conſtitution, againſt the dangers of *Fanatical Confuſions*, as well as thoſe of *Popiſh Superſtitions*.

Whether the great *Aſſembly* of our *Repreſentatives* ſhall think fit to deſire ſome ſmaller Alterations, and Abatements for the gaining *reaſonable* Diſſenters (ſome will never be ſatisfied) or not; it is not for me to conjecture. All ſober Sons of the Church of *England* will no doubt acquieſce, and be content with what the Wiſdom of the Nation ſhall think fit: But when that Point is reſolv'd whether one way, or the other, 'tis to be hoped *Strengthening*, and *Settlement*, with ſuch Allowances, or without, will follow; that we may not be always floating. This is the longing expectation of all Wiſe, and Good men, and it muſt be Moderate, Grave, Religious Counſels that muſt contrive

contrive, and effect this Happineſs for us: Many ſuch no doubt will be offer'd at your Meeting, I hope you will go with the *Healers* of our *Breaches*, and not with the *fierce* men that would drive things to Extreams. I am ſure you can get nothing by Confuſions, and Diſſettlements: Pray God diſappoint thoſe that would have Diſtractions, becauſe they think they *can* get by them.

I remember, walking with you laſt Summer in your Park, you were pleas'd to ask me, What way there was to ſecure the *Church* of *England* under a *Popiſh Succeſſor*, though he ſhould be Mild, and Gentle, and not bent upon the enforcing of his Religion? One chief ground of the Queſtion was, That the *King* beſtows the Biſhopricks, and many other Eccleſiaſtical Preferments, and it cannot well (as you reaſonably offer'd) be ſuppoſed, but that *He* will, in that caſe, beſtow them on ſuch as either are *Popiſhly* affected, or not very averſe to, or zealous againſt that Religion: Or if the King ſhould do otherwiſe, and beſtow them upon the moſt Worthy, Sincere, thorough Proteſtants, yet the People would entertain Jealouſies of them, and never think them *ſuch:* which would deſtroy their Authority, and Reverence, and occaſion the diſperſion of the People yet further, into Corners.

To this I ſaid, That I did not pretend to offer publick expedients in ſuch great and weighty matters; but I thought, that if by any means of Juſtice and ſafety to the Rights of the Crown, (ſuch as conſent in that caſe would be) *Canonical Elections* ſhould, during ſuch time, be granted to each particular *Church*, and the King ſhould pleaſe not to determine them in their choice to a Perſon by his *Conge de' ſlire*, (as now) but leave them to their liberty of Chooſing as they thought fit, (as in ſome former times they did) each *Dean* and *Chapter* to chooſe the *Biſhop* of the Dioceſs, and their own Members; that this might be reaſonable Security. And if the *Biſhop*, the *Dean* and *Chapter*, the *Clergy* of each Dioceſs, or diſtinct Deanry, or the *Univerſities*, ſhould have the right given them of preſenting to the King's Livings (during

ſuch time of a *Popiſh Succeſſor*) this way I humbly thought, might in all likelihood, ſecure us againſt thoſe Dangers. For the Clergy of the *Church of England* are of all men moſt concern'd in point of *Intereſt*, as well as *Principles*, and profeſſion to oppoſe *Popery*; and as far as lawfully they may, all advances towards it. (This one would think ſhould need no proof, but it ſeems it doth among ſome, and I ſhall clear that Matter by and by.) And they would no doubt, take care from time to time, to Elect *ſuch* as were moſt faſt to our *Proteſtant* Conſtitution, moſt eminent in their Lives, and Learning, and moſt able and ready to oppoſe *Popiſh* Corruptions; and ſo the Church of *England* might ſtand, if direct, and profeſt Violence were not offer'd to it: To this purpoſe I then ſaid, I think on the occaſion of his Majeſty's gracious offers for *Proteſtant* Security under a Succeſſor of the other Religion. I do not know what opportunities may be offer'd again, the next Seſſion, but if any ſuch be, and this particularly might be obtain'd, I hope it will be accepted, and me-thinks ſome ſuch thing ſhould be deſired. But, Sir, I am no *Projector*, I ſpeak all this with all imaginable ſubmiſſion to the wiſer Judgments of my Superiours.

CHAP. II.

II. ANother occaſion I note of the *increaſe* and *danger* of *Popery*, is our *ill treatment of our own Proteſtant Clergie*, *thoſe of the Church of* England. *Their* Predeceſſors were *they* who firſt formed our Reformation upon the ſobereſt, and beſt grounds of Oppoſition to the *Roman* Church (as I have ſhewn) and by their Blood ſealed our Proteſtant Eſtabliſhments: And the Succeſſors of thoſe bleſſed men, Biſhops, and other Epiſcopal Divines, have, ever ſince, been the

Scourges

Scourges of *Popery*, who by their learned and excellent Writings, have confuted, expoſed, triumph'd over the numerous Errors of that Church: Theſe have been the grand Champions of the Proteſtant Cauſe, that have fought our Battels againſt the ſtouteſt, and moſt daring Enemies, with glorious ſucceſs; ſuch were Biſhop *Jewel*, Biſhop *Morton*, Biſhop *Andrews*, Arch-Biſhop *Laud*, Biſhop *Hall*, Biſhop *Davenant*, Arch-Biſhop *Uſher*, Arch-Biſhop *Bramhal*, Biſhop *Taylor*, Biſhop *Cozens*, Dr. *Hammond*, Mr. *Chillingworth*, Mr. *Mead*, Dean *Stillingfleet*, Dean *Tillotſon*, Dean *Lloyd*, Dr. *Henry More*, Dr. *Brevint*; theſe and innumerable others, have ſtrenuouſly, and plainly refuted, baffled, and diſproved the Popiſh Depravations: And every where, men of the ſame ſort, in all parts of *England*, are very buſie both by Books, and Sermons to render thoſe Corruptions odious, and deteſtable as they deſerve: Particularly we have an eminent, aggregate Inſtance, in the Reverend *Epiſcopal Clergie* of the City of *London*: How many learned, ſubſtantial, convictive Sermons have they preach'd againſt the *Popiſh* Doctrines, and Practice, ſince our late Fears and Dangers? I believe there have not been *ſuch* deliver'd in that City againſt thoſe Superſtitions, ſince the Foundation of it: More ſound, accompliſh'd, judicious Preachers, it certainly never had; never any that underſtood the *Roman* Falſities better, never any that were more reſolv'd, or more active Enemies to them. The Divines, the Ancient, and the Modern, of the *Church* of *England*, principally, have by their Preaching, and their Writings, ſo inform'd, ſeaſon'd, and ſpirited the People againſt *Popery*, as we find at this Day; from *them* they have their chief Grounds, from *them* their courage of Oppoſition. 'Tis true, ſome few others have written ſomething, Mr. *Baxter*, and Mr. *Pool*, have labour'd worthily: Dr. *Owen* hath ſaid ſomewhat to *Fiat Lux*, and there are ſome Sermons of the *Presbyterians* extant, *Morning Lectures* againſt *Popery:* Theſe are the moſt, the chief of their Performances I ever heard of. Indeed the People of the Diſſenting Party talk commonly, as if the Non-conformiſt Miniſters had written the moſt

moſt and beſt Books againſt Popery, and had this way ſhewn themſelves more zealous Adverſaries to it, than the Conformable Clergy have done: But they do but ſhew their ignorance in this, as they do in other Matters of the like nature. And the ground of their Miſtake is this, That they take all the Books which their Miniſters have written againſt the Church of *England*, to be written againſt *Popery*. They have indeed written more than a Horſeload of Books of this ſort; but what they have written againſt the Church of *Rome*, a Boy may carry at his Back. I would not diſparage any *Proteſtant* Writings againſt the *Papiſts*, nor appear *partial* to the *Epiſcopal* Divines; Let the World compare, and judg of which ſide have been the moſt, and moſt conſiderable Oppoſites to the Popiſh cauſe: Let any the moſt prejudiced againſt the Church of *England*, read both ſorts, and then judg, who have been the *Original* Authors, and who have only uſed the *others Reading*, *Learning*, and *Reaſonings*. I would leave the Matter with the moſt partial to Diſſenters, to determine, when they have read, when they have conſider'd. There is no man certainly of underſtanding, or experience of the World, but muſt grant that the *chief*, the moſt *ſucceſsful* Antagoniſts of *Popery* have been the Clergy of the *Church* of *England*. Theſe the *Papiſts* have always moſt apprehended, oppoſed moſt; the others they have taken little notice of; they have not ſhewn that they reckoned them conſiderable. This is plain, and clear to all the World. Others make loud Out-cries againſt the word *Popery*, and *Papiſt*, but the *Epiſcopal* Divines do the Buſineſs.

And now, ſince we are *zealous* againſt *Popery*, it might be expected that we ſhould cheriſh, and encourage thoſe that fight for us againſt it, and have come off laden with ſo many Trophies of Victory; that have ſo aſſerted our Cauſe, and given our Enemies ſo many Mortal Wounds; that are ſtill ready for this Warfare, and always prepar'd for our Defence; one would think, I ſay, we ſhould unanimouſly love, reſpect, and cheriſh ſuch uſeful Friends, and Leaders.

But

But alas! The Matter is quite otherwiſe: There are not any Miniſters of any Religion in the World that are ſo diſreſpected, and ill treated: I mean not by *Popiſh* and *Sectarian* Enemies *only*, from ſuch they expect bad uſage; but from many of thoſe whom they inſtruct, whom they ſerve, and who pretend to be Children of that Church of which they are Miniſters; at leaſt they are ſuch as do not openly diſown it. The People of all other Religions in the World reverence, and reſpect their Prieſts, and Teachers; the very *Turks*, and *Heathens* do; this do *Papiſts*, and the Sects of all ſorts, and 'tis a natural conſequence from love, and reſpect to Religion: But *we* (many of us) vilifie, and depreſs ours; give them no reſpect for their *Work*, their *Office ſake*; yea, they are ſo much the *leſs* for it with us: We love to vex, and reproach them: We chearfully hear any defamatory Lies their Enemies invent againſt them; we are ready to ſpread, and publiſh ſuch Stories, and ſeem to delight in ſo doing: We call them by Nick-names of contempt, and ſcarce think any bad enough: We are apt to cenſure all their actions and their words, putting the worſt, and moſt uncharitable Conſtructions on them: We pinch them in their Dues, detain, and wreſt their Rights from them; think every thing too much that they have, though it be by the moſt Ancient and Fundamental Laws; and many, not content with the harveſt of *great Tythes*, the *Impropriations*, ſnatch the Gleanings, the *ſmall things* that are left alſo, from them: We allow all others to grow rich by any means, right or wrong, *Lawyers*, *Phyſicians*, *Tradeſmen*; not induring almoſt that our Clergy ſhould have any thing; denying them any Imployment (or regretting it) that hath any Power, Reputation, or Advantage; and forcing them upon a great deal of Secular Buſineſs that is *troubleſome*, and *odious*, to recover their Dues, and Childrens Bread, that is with-held, and wreſted from them; increaſing their Work, leſſening, taking away their juſt, legal, ancient Profits; envying the encouragements of Learning that are left, the Dignities of the Church, though ſpent in *Hoſpitality* upon our ſelves; clamouring at them,

ready

ready for occaſions to ſeize them, and deſiring ſuch, though *Engliſhmen*, not *Foreigners*, our *Fleſh* and *Blood*, our *Children*, our *Brothers*, our *Nephews*, poſſeſs them. Theſe ſad things, every one that obſerves may ſee, how much they are ſo, and a great part of the Conforming Clergy, perhaps the greateſt, feel all theſe inſtances of ill Uſage from ſome or others. I do not ſay that all of us treat them thus, (God forbid) Perſons of Breeding, Piety, and Worth, uſually are kind, civil, and reſpectful to this Order; but yet how common the other Treatment is, may be obſerv'd in moſt Converſations, and in the ordinary courſe of things among us.

And now, Sir, what could we do *more* for the advantage of *Popery*, and the promoting of it? What more than to pelt, vilifie, and diſhearten their grand Enemies? What *more* to give colour to their Slander, that *we Proteſtants* are a People of *no Faith*, *no Religion?* What *more*, to render the Proteſtant Inſtructions we receive from them, contemptible among their Hearers; and their Oppoſitions of the *Roman Church* inſignificant? What can we do *more* to expoſe them to all the temptations of the *Roman* Emiſſaries, than to looſen them from their proper Guides, and to deſtroy all Reverence, and Reſpect towards them? *Smite the Shepheards and the Sheep will flie.* What *more* to affix the *Popiſh* ſlander on our *Reformation*, that it was but *hatred of the Clergie, and love to their Lands?* What *more* towards the deſtroying our now flouriſhing *Proteſtant Univerſities*, the diſcouragement of all Learning, and conſequently, the letting in of Ignorance, and *Popery* upon us? What can we do *more* to diſhearten men of Parts from entring into the ſacred Function, and filling the Church with men wholly ignorant, and unlearned, to the great Scandal, and certain Ruine of it? To all theſe Miſchiefs doth the ill treatment of thoſe of the ſacred Function tend, (which will end in *Popery*) beſides the diſingenuity, unreaſonableneſs and impiety of it.

Which way think you Sir, did the *Jews* and *Heathens* of old, endeavour to deſtroy *Chriſtianity?* Was it not by vilifying,

and

and perſecuting the *Preachers* of it? Which way doth every Sect endeavour to deſtroy another; is it not by oppoſing, and diſgracing the *Teachers*, and *Leaders*? What ſurer way is there to undermine, and ruine *Popery*, than the rendring their *Prieſts*, and *Jeſuits* vile among the People; and the leſſening their Authority, and Power over them? And what more direct courſe to deſtroy the Proteſtant Religion, than the vilifying the *Proteſtant Clergie*, and rendring them of no account or eſtimation? Is not this the way the *Fanatick Whiggs* take to Ruine us? Againſt whom do they ſpit their Venom, and bend their chief Force, but againſt the *Biſhops* and *Miniſters* of our Church? And will not the diſgracing of them do the *Papiſts* as much ſervice? On the other hand, what is the way that all *Sects* and *Profeſſions* take to uphold, and promote their own Perſuaſion; is it not to incourage, and cheriſh their Teachers? Do they not honour, and reſpect them? Do they not vindicate their Reputations on all occaſions, and are they not zealous for them? To trouble, to vilifie, or ſpeak againſt their Preachers, is to touch them in the apple of their Eye; they are very tender, and concern'd here: And by this means they maintain the Reputation, and Intereſt of their reſpective Profeſſions: And do not we by the contrary Practice, lay the Honour, and Strength of ours in the Duſt, and make way for the wild Beaſts of the *Roman* Forreſt to break in upon, and to deſtroy us? This certainly is as direct a Courſe as we can take to promote *Popery*, the great Object of our preſent Fears.

I know, Sir, all this will be extreamly ungrateful Diſcourſe to ſome, and provoke them to pour out their uſual Reproaches againſt the Clergy. *Ignorance*, and *Ill-living*, will preſently be objected, aggravated to the height: Theſe will be pleaded to juſtifie the ill uſage I have repreſented, and to invite worſe? And it would be wonderful indeed, if in ſo great a Body of men as the Clergy are, *viz.* Nine or Ten Thouſand, (it may be more) there ſhould not be Inſtances found to give colour to ſuch Reproaches; and if there ſhould not be

ſome to deſerve very bad Characters. But let it be conſider'd, that the far greateſt part of Livings, are poor Vicarages of 20, 30, or 40 Pounds a Year, into ſuch Patrons muſt put whom they can get, and Biſhops that admit, know not mens ill Lives, and the Laws are content with very ſlender qualifications for Learning; nor are great Matters neceſſary for every Country Village; and this poor condition of ſo great a number of the Clergy ſets them into mean Converſation, and by their low and bad Company, they are tempted (and often purpoſely ſo) to diſorders; which then are triumphantly publiſh'd, the men are deſpiſed, and the whole Order for their ſakes. Some are ſurprized; for ſome Traps are laid, and they are induſtriouſly drawn into Scandal on purpoſe to defame them, and the whole Clergy; and it cannot be denied but that too many are *Clouds without Water*, *ſpots in our Feaſts*, *Diotrephes's*, *Demas's*, *Judas's*, not only in the ſmaller Cures, but in the more conſiderable Preferments: Many, moſt of thoſe, the *Laity* preſent to, and do not always prefer for worth, but for divers other, ſometimes, very undue conſiderations; all which conſider'd, it cannot be, but Scandals muſt ariſe among ſo great a Body of men, in ſuch Circumſtances; and then they having ſo many Enemies, of ſo many ſorts (*Atheiſts*, *Papiſts*, *Fanaticks*, *Worldlings*, *Debauchees*,) who watch for their haltings, and rejoyce when they fall, who are ready to invent ſo many malicious evil things of them, and to publiſh, and ſpread what they hear, or what they make, (their intereſt being to have them and the Church vilified, and deſpiſed) it could not be, but that they muſt ſuffer under manifold Reproaches, though they were all wiſe, cautious, innocent; how much more when there are divers ill, unwiſe, unwary men among them? and in all great Bodies in the World, in all times even the beſt, ſuch mixtures have been: And even the Good, the moſt Excellent have their Faults, and Imperfections, which when ill-will is to repreſent, and comment upon them, are ſometimes ſo heightned, and improved as to blacken them all over, and to make them appear very vile to the World.

But

But after all this, it must be said, that the *Church of England* (blessed be God for it) hath a great number of most Excellent Divines, men of great Piety, Parts, and Learning; substantial powerful Preachers; Pious, Sober, Virtuous Livers; *such*, as for all kinds of Ability, this Nation never had *greater, better, more.* Let my former Instance of the Clergy of *London* be consider'd, as an evidence of this: Their worth is so great, and shines so bright, that the Adversaries of our Church cannot but acknowledg it. Mr *Baxter*, in one of his late Books (the most sharp he hath written against us) owns that he meets with *judicious, substantial Sermons*, almost in every Church in *London*, where he happens to go: And up and down in the Country, every where, one may find very excellent Persons that lie hid, and make no publick noise in the World. I have said this by way of brief, but just *Apology*, in the behalf of our abused Clergy; and add, that notwithstanding the ill Character they lie under, among some, and the failings, and imperfections they are guilty of, yet this Nation never had (I believe) a wiser, learneder Clergy upon the whole, since the Beginnings of it: And the contempt, and ill treatment they meet withal, is one of the greatest Reasons why they are not better.

General disrespect makes men careless, and incautious in their Lives: Whereas honour and esteem ingageth them to be circumspect, and wary to maintain that veneration, and regard that is paid them. So that the men that most upbraid the Clergy with ill Lives, are the principal causes that many of their lives are so obnoxious; and they may consider (some of them) whether they do not themselves for sordid, and unworthy Reasons, bestow their Livings upon such as they complain of, and so *make* the reason of their own Complaints.

I have been tedious upon this Head, which yet would require larger Animadversions, and I shall here crave leave yet farther to note, That

Among all the abuses fastned on our Clergy, there is none more unreasonable, and unjust than that of their *inclination*

to, or *no great diſtance from the Roman Church.* This reproach our Enemies now, every where, publiſh, or inſinuate to carry on their deſign of deſtroying the *Church* of *England*, which ſhews that ſome will ſay any thing againſt them, any thing that may render them popularly odious, though it be never ſo contrary to all truth, and all appearance. And I challenge the whole *Proteſtant* World, to ſhew a publick Inſtance of more Zeal againſt *Popery*, than our *Church* of *England Divines* have expreſt againſt the *Popiſh* Religion, ever ſince, and before, the diſcovery of the late Plot. Every Pulpit can witneſs their frequent, earneſt Sermons againſt thoſe Superſtitions; and every Stationers Shop can ſhew their numerous excellent Books againſt them. Or if theſe were not, we may conſider that *Intereſt will not lye*; men, eſpecially *ſuch*, as they ſuppoſe our Clergy, will not act contrary to that. Can we think that all the Gentlemen of *England* that have *Abby*, and other *Church Lands*, will deſire, and endeavour to promote *Popery?* Are they (ſuppoſe we) favourers, and friends of that Religion, that in likelihood would diveſt them of their Eſtates? Can we think that the *City* of *London* are for blocking up, and hindring the Current of the *Thames?* Or that the Lord Mayor and Aldermen have a plot to tranſlate the Trade to *Lincoln* or *York?* Have the Merchants any deſires, or deſigns for the deſtroying of *Shipping*, and *Navigation?* Shop-keepers intrigues againſt *Trade?* or the Lawyers deſigns againſt the Buſineſs of *Weſtminſter-Hall?* If no one is ſo fooliſh as to object ſuch inclinations and endeavours againſt thoſe, why ſhould they then alledg *Popery*, any degree of it, any the leaſt inclination to it, againſt the *Clergie* of the *Church* of *England*, whom of all men it would moſt throughly, moſt certainly undo? And that there is no Church-man ſo ignorant, but he muſt know. For all the *Married* Clergy loſe their Livelihoods, without remedy, if that be all: All the *Prebendaries* in the new Churches which were *Monaſteries* of Monks, muſt turn out, unavoidably: All that have been active in Preaching, or writing againſt *Popery* (which takes in the chief part of the Clergy) are in immi-

imminent danger of being ruined further than the loſs of their Livelihoods amounts too. If there ſhould be any that think of ſaving themſelves by *Conformity*; they can look on that only as better than being utterly undone, not as a thing otherwiſe deſirable. For the *uncouth* work with which they are unacquainted, the *ſervile* ſubjection to their Superiours, to which they have not been uſed, and above all, the hatred, contempt, fury of the People, to which they will be expoſed, and by which they will be ſtill in danger of being out-raged; are worſe Circumſtances, and will be ſo to them, than any Poverty, any Condition whatſoever in the Service of this Church, can poſſibly be: So that could they, with the wreck of their Conſciences, and future hopes, be ſafe under *Popery*, for *this* World; yet they muſt be very uneaſie, very miſerable in it. And though they could be ſecure of the utmoſt kindneſs of the *Papiſts* (which there is no reaſon to expect) yet they would be in perpetual danger of being torn in pieces, or knock'd on the head by the People, if any Commotions (which we cannot think but ſuch a ſtate of things would be very liable to) ſhould happen. And if the Tide ſhould turn, and that Religion be again expell'd, any way, they muſt then be (if ſuffer'd to live) the moſt hated, deteſted Creatures alive. And are ſuch Circumſtances as *theſe* deſirable? Can any men in their Wits covet, and endeavour to arrive at ſuch a condition? Who ever really thinks that the Clergy of the *Church* of *England* deſire, or are inclined to *Popery*, thinks they are *Ideots*, or *Madmen*.

And what is there ſo reaſonable, ſo lovely, in *Popery* to incline ſo great a Body of men, that know it, and have ſhewn they know ill enough by it, to renounce all their Intereſts in favour of it? This would make ſome believe that *Proteſtants* have belied the *Popiſh* Religion, and cheated the World with falſe Repreſentations of it, if the Clergy of an oppoſite Chriſtian Church do ſecretly deſire it, contrary to all their Profeſſions, Oaths, and Vows to God and Men, and contrary to all their deareſt Intereſts in this World. If this be ſo, *Popery*

hath

hath ſtrange Beauties, and Charms, which the Clergy ſee, but will not acquaint the People with: And what can be alledged more to the advantage of *Popery?* Or what can more expreſs the Slanderers extream malice againſt the Conformable Clergy? Which, as I have ſhewn, hath a tendency to the advancement of the *Popiſh* cauſe and intereſt.

Now to prevent it here alſo, we ſhould countenance, and incourage theſe Adverſaries of that Church, and Way, the Divines of our own. 'Tis their imployment, and hath been their ſtudy to diſcover the errors, dangers, and malignity of *Romiſh* Corruptions, and Innovations. Divers ingenious Gentlemen of the Court, and Country, are likewiſe well inſtructed in this Knowledg; but the *Clergie* have made it moſt their Buſineſs, and are moſt immediately concern'd: By ſuch their Craft muſt be detected, their Pretences expoſed, their Endeavours defeated. *Popery* will not be kept out by Railing, and Noiſe, it muſt be the light of contrary Conviction that muſt do it; it muſt be kept from taking hold of the Hearts, and Conſciences of men, and not only be reſiſted by the exerciſe of Power; ſo that, if we are heartily diſaffected to *Popery*, and the increaſe of it, we ſhould ſhew that inclination by our favour to thoſe who ſo ſtrenuouſly, ſo unanimouſly oppoſe it. We ought to reſpect our own Clergy for that Reaſon, and for many others, for their *Character*, and their *Work*, &c.

God hath dignified them with higheſt *Titles* of *his Miniſters*, *his Ambaſſadors*, *Stewards of his Myſteries*, *Angels*, *Stars*, *Light*; and ſhall we deſpiſe thoſe whom he is pleaſed to honour? Are theſe titles marks of Infamy, and Reproach? Their *Buſineſs* alſo, and Imployment requires our reſpects to them; 'tis the greateſt, moſt honourable, moſt uſeful; they ſerve us for our nobleſt part, our higheſt ends, theſe challenge our kindneſs, our countenance, and ingenuous and candid thoughts of them, which we ſhould ſhew in diſlike of vilifying Diſcourſe, and in reproving unjuſt Reproaches of them. *Charity thinketh no evil*; not of any, eſpecially not of our *Spiritual Guides*,

Guides, whom we ought to reckon worthy of *double honour for their Work ſake.* We ſhould conſider what Enemies they have on all ſides to invent, and ſpread Slanders of them, to make much of little, ſomething of nothing: and where we diſcover faults, we ſhould reprove them *privately*, we ſhould endeavour, what in us lies, to make their Lives comfortable, that ſo with Courage, and Reſolution, they may addreſs themſelves to their great Work. Thoſe who are always oppreſt and kept down, will be able to do no great matter.

The *Apoſtles* indeed, and Primitive Chriſtians got vigour from Oppoſitions, and Perſecutions, but their aſſiſtances were *extraordinary* and *immediate:* And, thanks be to God, we have many reſolv'd excellent Men, whom no ill treatment will diſcourage from their Duty; though others of lower Form, that might otherwiſe be very uſeful, in ſome degree may be diſheartned. We would not have them intermeddle in *Secular* Matters; 'tis pity men ſhould make it more neceſſary than they deſire, by giving them trouble to get their ſmall Dues (*ſmall* eſpecially in *Cities* and *Corporations*) but pay juſtly, chearfully, and not divert them from their other Buſineſs (which is enough) by vexations of this ſort; this is cruel, and ſhameful. And 'twere greatly to be wiſh'd that the Government would take care to augment the Livings in *Corporations*, and *great Towns*, where the greateſt imployment is and the leaſt incouragement; and appoint ſome ſpeedier, eaſier way for the gaining of *ſmall Dues*, great part of which now is loſt, or got with incredible Envy, Hatred, and Toil. This hath been aim'd at, and indeavour'd in a late Parliament, and 'twould be juſt, and for the intereſt and advantage of the *Proteſtant* Religion, it ſhould be effectually conſider'd. The ways that are now, through the iniquity of the Times, are tedious, vexatious, odious, and ſcarce practicable at laſt: and the Miniſter muſt reſolve to ſit down either with the loſs of his Maintenance, or his Reputation, and his Peace. So that to purchaſe quietneſs he muſt be a Beggar; and is under great temptation to loſe the intereſt of his Family, and the rights of his

his Church. Theſe diſcouragements will eaſily be remov'd when any Parliament ſhall think fit to ſet about it.

And ſince I am upon *Deſirables*, I'le mention one or two more, *viz.* That *Patrons* would take conſciencious Care in preſenting to their Livings; that they would conſider the *fitneſs* of Perſons, and the *Churches Service*, and not be moved by other *undue* conſiderations; for want of *this*, many unqualified, incompetent men creep in, to the great diſhonour and prejudice of our Church, and Religion. And if theſe things were rectified, it is to be ſuppos'd, and hop'd, that Care would be taken, that *Degrees* ſhould not be given in the *Univerſities* but to men of ſuitable Learning; nor *holy Orders*, but to Perſons known to be fitly Qualified. The rectifying theſe few things, would cure many of the greateſt Evils that oppreſs, and diſgrace the *Clergie*, and *Proteſtant* Reformation. They would then be animated to their Duty, be Ornaments to the Church, have power with the People, and ſo be enabled more effectually to defend the *Proteſtant* Intereſt, and Religion; whereas our preſent Proceedings, leſſen and expoſe both them, and it.

CHAP. III.

III. OUr *Diviſions* (which muſt neceſſarily follow *want* of *Authority* in the Church, and *reſpect* to its *Miniſters*) *are plain, and acknowledg'd occaſions of our Dangers.* Never was a People ſo *Broken*, ſo *Divided.* What numerous names of Sects have we, and ſcarce any one at Unity within it ſelf; all *ſubdivided*, and broken into diverſities that want names: We have raked up all the *old Hereſies*, and added *new*; Monſters formerly unheard of: All that the Phancies, all that the Phrenſies of conceited and diſtracted men can invent, are Doctrines

ctrines of Religion, and Grounds of *Sect-making* among us. And *all* are zealous for their particular Conceits, *all* call their own imaginations by the moſt ſacred names, *Light*, *God's Truth*, *Goſpel Ways*, *Holy Myſteries*, *Daunings*, *Illuminations*, *Refinings*; and a world more of ſuch fondneſs; by which they are infinitely puff'd up in their own Phancies, as the only *Knowing*, the only *Spiritual* Chriſtians; and taught to ſcorn all other Doctrines, and Ways, as *beggarly Rudiments*, *Elements of this World*, and *Carnal Reaſonings* at the beſt; yea, generally to rail bitterly at them, as *Lyes*, *Popiſh*, *Babyloniſh*, *Antichriſtian traſh*, *Doctrines* of *Devils*, and ſuch like; and conſequently, to hate, and bitterly to revile all different Judgments, eſpecially thoſe that are *uppermoſt*, *Eſtabliſh'd*, or countenanc'd by the *Government*, *now*, chiefly the *Church* of *England*; but if any one of *them* were got into the place, it would be the ſame thing, all the reſt would flie upon it, and tear it with their utmoſt Rancour, Vehemence, and Reproaches: Which ſtate of things among us is infinitely *Scandalous* to the *Proteſtant* Religion, to which they all pretend: And thoſe that leave us, clamorouſly object that there is *no end* of our *Factions* and *Diviſions*: That 'tis a ſign our Church is not the *true* one, ſince it is ſo *broken*, *ſhattered*, *divided:* Which *Diviſions* they think, and ſay are either the natural conſequents of our *departure* from *them*, or the *Judgment* of God upon us for *that Separation.* See, ſay they, what *you Proteſtants* are, a medley of wild diſagreeing Sects, as different from, and as fierce one againſt another, as againſt us; *one* in *Name*, but in *Principles*, in *Affections*, in your particular ways *infinitely diverſe*, infinitely *oppoſite.* You have no Principles, are faſtned to no Foundation; float up and down, like the Waves of the Sea, ſtill rouling from one Sect to another: Whereas *we Catholicks* are *one* Body, an Edifice firmly built upon the *Authority* of the *Church*, having no ſuch Fractions among us, but being as a *City that is at unity in it ſelf.* By ſuch ſuggeſtions, to which our *Diviſions* give too much colour, they deceive the Hearts of the Simple, and draw multitudes into their Snares.

And as our Diviſions promote *Popery* by way of *Scandal*, and the ill opinion they beget of the *Reformation*; ſo they do the ſame by giving the *Papiſts* poſitive, and direct opportunity to play their Game. They put themſelves into all ſhapes, and diſguiſes among our Sects, and under thoſe Vizards drive us on towards more Confuſion, and diſſeminate their own Doctrines under other Names, and Appearances, with great advantage to their Cauſe. So that while there are ſuch *Separations*, and *Conventicle Meetings* among us, *Popery* is ſtill carrying on: The *Popiſh* Agents will creep into Houſes; they will hide, and ſhelter themſelves under thoſe pretences, and drive on their Buſineſs by them.

So that there is no way for us to come to any aſſurance againſt *Popery*, but by *Union*, by which the Scandal will be removed, and the *advantages* that we give our Enemies by our *Diviſions*. But this, conſidering how things are, may ſeem utterly unpracticable; *union* and *agreement* in *Opinions*, is certainly unfeiſable; it never was in the World, it never will be: But yet, ſome *External Union*, *Subjection*, *Truce*, *fairneſs* among the different minds *may*: And how is *that* to be attain'd? Muſt all Diſſenters from the Church be *ſuppreſt?* Or, muſt they have a *general Toleration?* The ordering this Matter, muſt be left to the Wiſdom of our Governours; only in *general* I ſay, ſomething muſt be done for the removing the miſchievous effects of our Diviſions. I will not pretend to *direct*, but I'le give you my opinion in two things.

1. *Toleration is not the way.* Liberty of *Conſcience* muſt be given; there is no help for *that*; no power on Earth can invade it; for *Liberty* of *Conſcience* is liberty of *Practical Judgment*; and the freedom of *that* none can take away. *Liberty* of *Practice* then, is the thing in diſpute; that conſiſts either in *profeſſing* our private *Opinions*, or our *walking* in private *Ways*, contrary to Eſtabliſhments; and as to theſe too, ſtrictly ſpeaking, our *Liberty* cannot be taken away; For whatever the Laws or Penalties are, men will ſtill retain *natural* power, and liberty to profeſs what they believe, and to act according to that profeſſion.

ſeſſion. The queſtion then is of *Political Liberty*, whether they ſhould not be determined by Laws, and bounded by Prohibitions, and Penalties in *Eccleſiaſtical Matters*, as well as others? And ſo, it will come to this, whether there ſhould be *any Government in the Church or not?* For if there be a *Government*, there muſt be *Laws*, if there be *Laws*, there muſt be *Penalties* annext to the violation of thoſe Laws; otherwiſe the Government is precarious, and at every ones mercy; that is, 'tis none at all; the very nature of Government requires Reſtraints, and the bounding the liberty of Practice: and to ſtrive for *Toleration*, is to contend againſt all Government.

Let it be tried in the Civil State, in *Armies*, in *Schools*, in any Societies, or publick Bodies; And ſee what work it would make with them? *None* certainly could ſtand under the practice of ſuch a Principle: For if Penalties are forborn to *any*, why ſhould not *all* expect it, when there is occaſion? And all may have the ſame pretence when they need it. If no one is to be puniſh'd for doing that which is *agreeable* to his *Conſcience*, or not doing that which is *contrary* to it, every one will quickly learn to ſay that the thing he *would do* is his *Conſcience*, and the thing he *diſlikes* is *againſt* it: And 'tis impoſſible for all the wiſdom in the World to tell, but that it *may*; no one can judg *that*, but a man's ſelf: So that here is an effectual looſe and out-let to all Government in the *Church*; yea, and in the *State* too.

For *Conſcience* is as much concern'd in the Duties of the *Second Table*, as in thoſe of the *Firſt*. —— *Conſcience void of offence towards God, and towards men*, Acts 24. 16. And there is no Statute of the Realm that can be made, but men may find a pretence of *Conſcience* againſt it: And if Conſcience (every man's *peeviſh*, *humourſome*, *erring* Judgment, which he will call by that name) be ſo ſacred, that no one muſt be puniſh'd that follows it, then every one may be excuſed, when he thinks fit to plead this, and ſo good-night to all Laws and Governments of all ſorts. If a man *ſteals* anothers Goods,

the Law would puniſh him: But ſaith he, I did according to my Conſcience; the poſſeſſor was a wicked man that had no right, for all *property is founded in Grace*, and I did but take what my Godlineſs gave me title to: I was bound in conſcience to aſſert mine own, and the Godlies right. And then the Proſecution according to this Doctrine of Liberty of Conſcience is at an end, and the Offender clear. If a man violently detains what is anothers by Law (as the *Quakers* actually do in the caſe of *Tithes*) he muſt not be puniſh'd, 'tis his Conſcience he'll tell you. If one that is Preſt for the neceſſary Service, and defence of his Country againſt a foreign Enemy, alledg 'tis againſt his Conſcience to *fight*, he muſt be excuſed: If he ſay his Conſcience forbids him to pay *Taxes*, that he is ſubject to none but *King Jeſus*, and that all other Government is *Antichriſtian*, his Purſe muſt be free, and the King muſt loſe *his* ſhare; and then in a ſhort time you may judg what will become of his Majeſty's Revenue. If he pleads 'tis againſt his Conſcience to *bear Office* in Church, or State, he muſt not by any means be troubled, his Neighbours muſt take the Burden, and ſhare the trouble among them. All theſe are juſt, and due Inferences, and we ſee by them whither this *Liberty* leads; nothing can be ſafe under it, no not our Lives. Men may think it a duty to murder us; *Thoſe that kill you, ſhall think they do God good ſervice:* And the *Scotch* Field-meeters actually hold, and teach in their Sermons, and their Books, that 'tis *lawful*, yea, *heroical*, to *kill Biſhops*, or any *ordained by them*; and in conſequence of that Doctrine, Ten of thoſe Zealots barbarouſly murdered the *Arch-Biſhop* of St. *Andrews*. Yea their Doctrine is, that 'tis *lawful to kill any one that hath forſaken their Covenant*, conſequently the *King* himſelf, upon whom they forceably impoſed it: And ſome that have the heroical Impulſe, that is, a ſtrong inclination to murder any of the ſorts ſo ſentenced by them, will think himſelf bound in Conſcience to do it. And when he hath ſo done, muſt he be indemnified, and exempt from Puniſhment, becauſe it was his Conſcience; So it ought to be according to this Doctrine.

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If it be ſaid, that theſe are *plain* Caſes, and men cannot plead Conſcience for diſobedience in ſuch Inſtances. I anſwer, that nothing is ſo plain, but men that have an humour, an intereſt, or will againſt it, may diſpute, and doubt, and deny when they pleaſe; and the Inſtances alledg'd *actually are* among the *Quakers*, *Fifth Monarchiſts*, *Scotch Presbyterians*, and ſuch like; and if this Principle be allowed, their number, and their pretences would quickly increaſe to the deſtruction of all Right, Property, and Government.

But *Liberty*, ſome will ſay, is deſired only in the *Worſhip* of God: And if *right* of *Conſcience* be the reaſon it ſhould be had there, the ſame right of Conſcience extends to all things of *Morality*, where Conſcience binds as much, and is as ſacred; and the bounding it in *matters* of *Worſhip*, is *Arbitrarious*, and without Reaſon; which men would quickly find, if they had once gain'd the firſt Point. And this Liberty is ſo deſtructive to all rights of Government, and Society, that none of thoſe that now contend for it, will allow it when they have power. Ask the *Papiſts* in *Spain*, *Germany*, or *France*, if they are for *Toleration?* Ask the *Presbyterians*, whether they would *Tolerate?* In *their* times nothing was ſo abominable, ſo *Antichriſtian*, as *accurſed Toleration*, (as they then call'd it) nothing ſo vehemently thundred againſt in their Pulpits every where. We may remember how they Perſecuted, Sequeſtred, Impriſon'd, ruined the *Epiſcopal* Divines for reading the publick *Liturgie*, according to the *Laws*, their *Oaths*, their *Conſciences: Their* plea of Conſcience was nothing then; we know who denied the liberty of this Worſhip even to the *King* himſelf in his own Chappel: They would not ſuffer in his Extremities any of his own Chaplains to come to him, when he earneſtly deſired it. And what Liberty was given to all *other* Sects by the *Independents*, in their day, becauſe they *could not help it*, was denied to *Popery*, and *Prelacy* (as they joyn'd them) becauſe they *could*. And there is no Sect, were it in full power, that would give liberty to *any other*. Even *now* they *deny* it, and violate their own pretences of Liberty of

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Conſcience; they *perſecute Conformiſts* with bitter hatred, and with railing, malicious accuſations; they *ſhoot* the *arrows of bitter Words*, and endeavour to deſtroy their Reputations with *Tongues ſet on fire of Hell:* They give no quarter to *their Conſciences*, but perſecute them, as far as they can: and perſecution in the *Heart*, and in the *Tongue*, would be *ſo* in the *Hands* quickly, if they had power.

So that *Liberty* of *Conſcience*, and *Toleration*, are things only to be talkt of, and pretended to by thoſe that are *under*; but none like, or think it reaſonable that are in *Authority*. 'Tis an inſtrument of miſchief and diſſettlement, to be courted by thoſe who would have Change; but no way deſirable by ſuch as would be quiet, and have the Government undiſturbed. For it is not conſiſtent with Publick peace and ſafety, without a *ſtanding Army*: *Conventicles* being eternal *Nurſeries* of *Sedition* and *Rebellion*. If theſe Diſſenters would be contented with *Liberty*, 'twere pretty well, and tolerable; but *that* will not do: whatever is the modeſty and meekneſs of the pretence, they muſt have the Rule and Sway of all or they will never be ſatisfied.

We ſee this actually in *Scotland*; there is no manner of Impoſition in worſhip there either of *Liturgie*, or *Ceremony*, but the worſhip in Churches is in the *ſame* way with that in their Conventicles; and yet they tumult, and rebel on pretence of Religion and Conſcience. They would have their *Covenant*, *Chriſts Government*, as they call it, that is, the Dominion and ſupreme Rule themſelves. Meer Indulgence they ſcorn, many of them think it unlawful to accept any from the King, and have upon that account made a ſeparation from thoſe of their own, that think they may: and thus in likelihood it would be in a little time here alſo, if Toleration under Limitations, were granted.

So that whatever it may do elſe-where, where People are *leſs concern'd* for their *Opinions*; *we* certainly can never be ſafe with it, without an *Army* to ſecure the Publick from the *Miſchievous* effects of it. And if ever *this* ſhould obtain, *Popery* would

would get ſuch an advantage by it, as God forbid it ſhould ever have again in this Kingdom: And we know, *Toleration* was a principal thing aimed at, and endeavour'd (as appears by *Coleman*'s Letters) in order to the introducing of that Religion. So that upon the whole we ſee, that this is not our way. Let us then conſider,

2. An *Accommodation* with Diſſenters of leſs malignant Principles; What will that do? 'Tis certain, that with ſome of them no terms can be made; they will never *unite*, never be ſatisfied; to ſuch 'tis in vain to yield, in order to a *Conſolidation* that is *unpracticable*. On the other hand, there are who make other profeſſions, and are not ſo vaſtly diſtant from us, thoſe declare for an *Epiſcopal* Government, and a *Publick Liturgie*; with them one would think it ſhould not be impoſſible to Unite. They pretend that ſome ſmall Abatements, and Condeſcenſions on our part, would do: And we grant that our *Liturgie* and *Ceremonies* are *alterable*; ſome actual alterations have been made ſince the return of the Government: If reaſonable Alterations and Compliances would gain them, perhaps it might be worth while to endeavour it, this way. I ſpeak doubtfully, becauſe it is a thing of great and various Conſideration; if ſober men could be gain'd, and conſiderable numbers of People with them, upon tolerable Terms, it would be a ſtrengthening to our Church, and very deſirable. But it ſhould be weigh'd too, whether any conſiderable men, and numbers would in likelihood come in? Whether the People would be reconciled to the Church with them? Or whether they would not flie from them, when they are *ours*, as they do from our own men, and betake themſelves to thoſe that ſtill ſtand out in defiance? And whether the Perſons we admit would not with more authority and advantage, propagate *ill Principles* among our People whom they they are allow'd to teach? Some of thoſe that by ſtraining, have got in, have done ſo; Conform'd by halves, and in a way that ſhews their diſlike of what they do; that 'tis Force, and not Choice; and have made it their buſineſs, if not directly to oppoſe the Church, yet

yet cunningly by way of Inſinuation, they have fomented and kept alive corrupt Doctrines. Theſe things may be conſider'd on both ſides, by thoſe that are concern'd to open the Gate wider, or to keep it as it is.

If our Governors ſhould think fit to *widen*, and to yield in ſome things, it would be a Chriſtian compliance on their part, and perhaps a kindneſs to our *Epiſcopal* Clergy, whoſe Obligation to ſome Innocent, but *offenſive* uſages diſaffects many miſtaken, well-meaning People to them, robs their Churches of their Company, and *them* of their Kindneſſes, and Incouragements; renders their Lives full of difficulties, and diſputes, enforceth them to eternal Conteſts for their Dues, and renders their Miniſtry, and profitable Pains, in many places, ineffectual. The Cure of theſe Evils, and the ſettling the Church upon *larger*, and ſo a *ſafer* Foundation (as to Intereſt I mean) are poſſibly good Reaſons, why the Matter ſhould be now taken into ſerious and deliberate Conſideration. And the *dangers* from *Popery* which the *Diſſenters* alſo ſo much apprehend, ſhould methinks render them more apt to comply, and willing to accept of moderate terms in order to our *Conjunction* againſt the common Danger. This I believe *ſome* are, and with *them* there is poſſibility of *Uniting*, and likely there may be good effects of it: But *others* of them, are ſtrangely heightned by our Dangers, and ſtand now upon more diſtant terms than ever, they expect that the World will ſhortly be their own, and therefore ſhew themſelves more inveterate againſt the Church and us, than ever. Certainly theſe do not *believe* the *Popiſh Plot*, nor fear *Popery* as they pretend; they only amuſe, and affright the People with them, thereby to carry on their own deſigns: otherwiſe, they would, *now* eſpecially, ſupplicate the Government for *Union*, and ſacrifice *Humour*, *Intereſt* of a Party, and the *Pride* of Separation, to the *Proteſtant* advantage, and ſafety: They would be more yieldable, and compliant, and deſirous to cement, and joyn with us for the common Benefit, and Security. If the Government ſhould think fit to conſider thoſe that are ſo, and to make any

ſmall

ſmall alterations in their favour, it would be *Charitable*, and *Candid*, and poſſibly for the Publick Intereſt. But whether *fit*, or *not*, 'tis not for private Perſons to determine, nor very decent, uncall'd, to offer their opinion, when that Point is concluded, I think.

3. The *Conſtitution* ſhould be made *firm* (whether with any alterations, or without them) and Laws put in *punctual, vigorous Execution.* Till that is done, all will ſignifie nothing. The *Church* hath loſt all through *Remiſsneſs*, and *Non-execution* of *Laws:* and by the contrary courſe things muſt be reduced, or they never will. To what purpoſe are *Parliaments* ſo concern'd to prepare good Laws, if the Officers who are intruſted with the *Execution*, neglect that Duty, and let them lie *Dead.* This brings Laws and Government into Contempt, and 'twere much better the Laws were never *made*: By *them* the Diſſenters are *provoked*, and being not *reſtrain'd* by the exacting of the *Penalties*, they are fiercer, and more bent upon their own ways, than they would be otherwiſe.

But it may be ſaid, the *execution of Laws* of *Conformity*, raiſeth the cry of *Perſecution*: and will not that be Scandalous? Not ſo *ſcandalous* as *Anarchy*, *Schiſm*, and eternal *Diviſions* and *Confuſions*, both in *Church* and *State.* Better that the unruly ſhould clamour, than that the regular ſhould groan, and all ſhould be undone: Better the *Schiſmatical* ſhould be juſtly puniſh'd by the Government (let them call that Puniſhment what they will) than that the Government ſhould really, and for ever be *Perſecuted* by *them.* If Penalties muſt be ſuſpended when ever the guilty clamour, and call things by wrong names, then farewel all Government. Our *Governours* have *Conſciences* too as well as private Perſons, and they ought to act according to *theirs*, for the publick Benefit, and Safety, let it be never ſo much againſt the grain of thoſe that will for ever be diſcontented.

But it may yet be Objected, that *puniſhment* in ſuch Caſes, *will do no good:* Men will not be *beaten into Religion, nor out of any.* And it is true, that *ſome* will never be reduced, ne-

ver reclaim'd; but then, their juſt Sufferings will be warnings to others. The greateſt part of thoſe that now ſcatter, and run about, do it out of *Humour*, or *Phancy*, or *Faction*, or *Intereſt*, or *Animoſity*, or deſire of being accounted Godly, not really out of Conſcience, and conviction of Duty; and *theſe*, the Penalties duly exacted would bring back into Order, and when they have been uſed to *that*, and ſtrict Government, they may really grow wiſer, and be reconciled throughly, to the Church, and its Conſtitutions, againſt which they were before ſo prejudiced; for hereby they will be forced into ſoberer Company, and under more *ſound*, and *ſober* Preaching. Our Miniſters then will have the opportunity of informing their abuſed, and miſguided underſtandings, of diſcovering the Fallacies, and Miſtakes they have been abuſed by, and of ſetting their Conſciences right in thoſe Matters. While People run on without controul in their own ways, they will not *hearken*, they will not *conſider* any thing that is offer'd to them: Like the *wild Aſs*, *they ſnuff up the Wind*, *who can turn them away?* But when their Opinions, and Ways bring them trouble, when they are chaſtiſed for them, they are then more diſpoſed to attend, and weigh the Reaſons offer'd without the uſual *Partiality*, and *Prejudice*. And thus *puniſhments* are *inſtruments* of real *Reformation*, and amendment. The truth of this we have in part ſeen: For while the Act made by the late *Parliament* againſt *Conventicles* was pretty briskly executed, our Churches began to be fill'd, and the People were from all quarters coming in; and had that courſe been followed, as it was begun, it would have done the buſineſs, in likelihood we had been ſettled, and not expoſed to ſuch *dangers* of *Popery*, as we always ſhall be, while the *Church* is *unfixt*: and ſo by the Grace of God we might yet be, if this Method were retriev'd. But then, the work muſt be done with a *ſteady* hand, and *firm* reſolution, *conſtantly*, *univerſally*; that all may ſee we are in earneſt for Eſtabliſhment. Such a courſe I am perſuaded would yet bring us into *Regularity*, and *External Union*, which would give Beauty, and Strength

to

to our Church, gratifie all good Men, and diſappoint the deſigns of our *Popiſh*, and *other* Enemies.

CHAP. IV.

III. OUr *careleſsneſs, and indifferency in Religion is one of the greateſt*, and *moſt unhappily influencing occaſions of our fears, and dangers of Popery. Religion* requires, and deſerves our higheſt Affections, and moſt diligent Endeavours. It is *Zeal*; *ſo* in the *truth* of things, and in the general *ſenſe* of Mankind: So that *where* Zeal is *not*, People will not believe that Religion is *there*: The Zealous ſtill lead them, and have their company; and when ever it happens, that the generality of a Church, or Way, are cold, dead, and unconcern'd either to Religion in general, or to their own particular Profeſſion; *that* Church, and Profeſſion is like to be deſerted by thoſe of warm affections, who will betake them thither where they may have company in their Zeal, and entertainment for it.

Here now hath been a principal occaſion that many have fall'n off from *our Church*, to the *Roman* Superſtition. Bleſſed be God, we have an excellent conſtitution of Religion reformed according to *Primitive*, *Apoſtolick* Doctrine, and Uſage: But the miſery is, *We*, the Members, have by our *Careleſsneſs*, *Indifferency*, *Irreligion*, brought diſgrace upon it, and laid it low in the opinion of many zealous, and devout People; for the moſt will judg of *Religions* by the *Profeſſors* of them.

Our *diſſenting* Adverſaries were, and are very *zealous*, they have a *Zeal for God, though not according to Knowledg*; that heat hath been very wild, and very miſchievous; and by the ill conduct, and bad effects of it, we are prejudiced (many of us) againſt the very *Word*, and againſt the *Thing*: So

that we run (as 'tis uſual) into a quite contrary *extream*, and are afraid of any thing that looks like warm Concernment, in, or for Religion.

The *Sects* are earneſt in their *Prayers*, *ſo* to Folly, and Extravagance: On the contrary how *indifferent* are many of us to the *Service* of our *Church*, thoſe *ſober*, *grave Devotions*, which formerly, when they were ſuppreſt, we diſputed ſo earneſtly for: How little have they of our Company? How *undevoutly* do we demean our ſelves at them? How *ſlightly* do many talk of *ſaying Prayers*, and being *Devout*; as if they were things to be jeſted with? How *little Reputation* doth Devotion give any one among us? How *little Shame* or Diſrepute the contrary?

The *Diſſenters* are *Superſtitious*, as to hearing *Sermons*; are *ſwift* to *hear*, place almoſt all Religion in it: Whereas too many of us, *reckon little* of *Preaching*, perform it as an *Exerciſe*, hear it as an *Entertainment*, (at the beſt) divers make nothing of it; at leaſt, are without any *affectionate* concernment about it.

The *holy Sacrament* of the *Lord's Supper*, which the *Fanaticks* impale within their *ſelect* numbers, but is freely permitted to us, how *many ſlight?* how *few* attend? The greateſt part neglect it quite, and will not by the moſt conſtant, and earneſt importunities of their *Miniſters*, be perſuaded to do *thus much*, to teſtifie their being Chriſtians.

The *Sects* are zealous contenders for their dear *Models* of *Government*, and *Diſcipline*: But how little do we (moſt of us) heed the *Government*, and *Diſciplins* of the Church? We care not how it is affronted, or trampled on, yea, we are ready upon every occaſion, and without any ſometimes, to flie in the Face of the Governours of it, and to tear them, our ſelves.

The *Separatiſts* are zealous to Superſtition, in the obſervance of the *Lords Day*: Some of us in oppoſition, reckon not much of it: moſt I doubt are too negligent, and remiſs here. In nothing doth the humour of Oppoſition appear more among

among us than in *this.* We hold *ſacredneſs* of places on the account of *dedication* to religious uſes, and reſpect due to them; for this the *Sects* deſpiſe us as *Superſtitious*: *They* on the other ſide hold *Sacredneſs*, and *Divine* Separation of *ſome* time, the *Lords Day* (at leaſt;) this Doctrine and the conſequent Practice, ſome among us, impeach as Superſtitious, and heed not that Day as they ought. Frequent Acts of Parliament are made to inforce its *Religious* obſervation, and to reſtrain abuſes, and prophanations of it, which yet are the ſame as before, and Magiſtrates that ſhould execute Laws, in many places, take little or no notice of them.

Now the conſequence of this unhappy *Coldneſs*, and *Indifferency*, muſt be, that many People that are affectionate to Religion muſt needs turn away, and joyn themſelves either to the *Conventicles* on the one hand, or the *Papiſts* on the other, both which have great appearance of Zeal and Devotion; and many, no doubt, have gone off to the *Roman* Church upon this only ſcore, being ſcandaliz'd by our neglects, and indevotion. This was the temper of *Laodicea*, and the *Remedy* preſcribed, to prevent Ruine, was *Zeal*, Rev. 3, 19. And except we learn, and practiſe *this*, our Church in the neceſſary conſequence, muſt fall to nothing.

Our Enemies on both ſides are diligent, ſtudious, zealous, and if we continue negligent, and careleſs, their deſigns to deſtroy us at length, muſt of neceſſity ſucceed; and here is one of the moſt conſiderable Cauſes they have ſucceeded ſo far already. The way of Cure and Prevention, is *ſober*, *active Zeal*, both in Clergy, and People.

As to the *Prayers* of the Church; the *Miniſters* ought to read them with more *affection*, and *external* Devotion; the People to attend them with more diligence, and conſtancy; and their attendance ought to be more humble and devout. There was never more reaſon for our conſtancy, and zeal in this Duty than now: Prayers are always ſeaſonable, but moſt neceſſary in times of publick Difficulties, and Dangers. The rude *Mariners* betook them to their *Prayers* in the *Storm*,

Jon.

Jon. 1. *In their affliction they will ſeek me early,* Hoſ. 5. 15. If we do not *ſo* in *ours*, it will be a ſad ſymptom.

We ſhould further expreſs our *Zeal* in being conſtant, and unanimous in attending on the *holy Sacrament*; our neglect of this is ſhameful, and intolerable: Nothing hath given ſo great a blow to our Religion, it hath made ſome believe, and ſay we have *none*. We are earneſtly invited by our Lord, and his Meſſengers; How many earneſt Sermons, how many excellent Books, preſs this Duty upon us, and give us direction in it? And yet we are little moved. We come for fear of the *Temporal* Penalties, when we have entred into *Offices*, and *Truſts*, but the Authority of our Supreme Legiſlator, and the eternal Penalties he threatens, prevail little. This is ſcandalous Neglect: And we declare to all the World, that Religion hath no power upon us, when it cannot obtain thus much from us. Of this careleſneſs we ought to repent deeply, to reform ſpeedily, *Solemn* appearance at the Lord's Table would give us the face of a Church, and make our Religion look like ſomething; the contrary expoſeth it to Contempt.

Our *Zeal* alſo ſhould ingage us to ſtudy the *Conſtitutions* of our *Church* more, to ſearch into the grounds of our Government, and Diſcipline, that we may be acquainted with their Antiquity, Reaſonableneſs, and Piety, and thereby inabled to ſtop the mouths of Gain-ſayers, and to contend *intelligently* for our Profeſſion, and Practice.

The Lord's Day ſhould be more diligently, and religiouſly obſerved by us. This is the publick, ſolemn time for the exerciſe of Devotion; ſo it is acknowledg'd, whether it be of *Divine*, or only of *Eccleſiaſtical* Inſtitution, and therefore ſhould be reverenc'd by thoſe of each Opinion, and kept as a Day ſeparate from other days, and other uſes: Places we think and ſay ought to be ſo, *Churches*, and *Altars*; and with reaſon we believe this: There is at leaſt the ſame reaſon for Times, ſome *others* we allow; and *this* alſo in *Doctrine*; let not the zeal of our Adverſaries in this inſtance abate, and quench

ours.

ours. The reverence and all the great intereſts of Religion are in great part maintain'd, and kept alive by the due obſervance of this Day. Let us expreſs our Zeal, and Devotion here alſo: To devote one day of ſeven to God, and his peculiar Service, ſhould not, methinks, be grievous to us? In this there is no *Fanaticiſm*, nothing but what is very agreeable to the *Doctrine* of the *Church of England*, which we ſhould ſtrengthen, and do honour to by ſuch practice: This Zeal is honeſt, laudable, neceſſary, and 'tis *popular*: And in Chriſtian Prudence we ſhould do, and ſtudy all lawful things that tend to the inlargement of the Church, and the edification of its Members.

There is yet another Inſtance, in which *Zeal* ſhould be more expreſt; which I have reſerv'd for the laſt, becauſe I ſhall take the liberty to inlarge on it: It is concerning *Preaching*, and *hearing Sermons*. I pretend not to teach, but ſhall with ſubmiſſion to better Judgments deliver my opinion, which is, That in *Preaching*, Miniſters ſhould chiefly, moſtly, treat on *plain*, *practical*, *awakening* Subjects, ſpeaking of them gravely, and affectionately, without Vanity, or Affectation, with deſign ſtill to do good, and to make themſelves, and their Hearers better. Such I think ſhould be the matter, and ſuch the meaſure of Preaching: And 'twould do no hurt if our Preachers generally took more Zeal into their Pulpits than is uſual with us, Zeal without Folly: Methinks our Divines ſhould not ſuffer others to out-do them here; much-leſs ſhould they quit this to them: The too uſual want of this Zeal here, is a principal cauſe of our Miſchiefs: Some are almoſt aſhamed, or affraid to be zealous in their Pulpits. The preaching of too many is *Declamatory*, they deliver not *Theological* Sermons, not ſuch as are apt to inſtruct, or edifie, but ſeem to deſign the gratifying vain Phancies, and the pleaſing of wanton Hearers: They aim at *Wit*, and *fine Sayings* to gain applauſe among the injudicious by ſilly Affectations, and when they are *commended* they have their end, and the work is done: They move no devout Affections, ſeem not to deſign it: Their Ser-

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mons are lifeleſs, dull Harangues, full of ſtudied Vanity, without Piety, or as much as good Senſe. Hence many Religious are ſcandaliz'd, and they nauſeate ſuch Preaching, and are tempted by it to run away into Corners and Sects; and here is one great ground of Separation, and loſs of our People.

Now one, and a chief occaſion that this Humour hath ſo much obtain'd, is, that many of the *Laity*, and ſuch as pretend much to the Church of *England*, are for the *formal*, *unedifying*, *wittiſizing* Way; they have not the patience to hear a Grave, Serious, Affectionate Sermon that plays no Tricks: But will be ready (ſome of them) to Stigmatize, and rail againſt ſuch a Preacher as a *Presbyterian*, though he be zealouſly oppoſite to their *Principles*, and *Ways*, and moſt hearty and affectionate to the *Church* of *England*. Theſe would have none (it ſeems) but *affected*, *inſipid*, *ſenſleſs Fops* of it: They are willing to give away all, or moſt of the men of Reaſon, and Religious Zeal to the Sects; take them who will, they will not own them: Theſe men have done the *Church* of *England* the great Miſchief, and have raiſed moſt of the Clamour, and Oppoſition againſt it.

No Church in the World hath *better* Preachers than *this*, and there are not upon Earth *worſe* than thoſe I have laſt deſcrib'd; or rather they are *none* at all; what they do is *not Preaching*; it is throughout doing another thing, *Declaiming*, *ſilly*, *childiſh ſpeech-making*; *what you will*; there is ſcarce any other abuſe of Speech bad enough to reſemble it to. I cannot ſpeak of it with too much Contempt. Such Preachers are *Prophaners* of ſacred things, contemptible even in the things they aim at; their *Oratory*, their *Wit* is *ſo*; neither true; both *boyiſh*, *ridiculous*, *deſpicable* to men of Senſe. And yet (as I intimated) ſome that pretend Zeal for the *Church* of *England*, that is, the *Name*, the *Shadow*, applaud thoſe *Triflers*, *Players*; and thereby tempt young men to take up after their Way; and the affecting ſuch ſtuff hath ſpread far to the Scandal of the Church, and the diſcountenancing the *ſerious*, *earneſt*, *affectionate* Method, which is ſo much out of faſhion among

among this ſort, that they cannot endure that the Preacher ſhould as much as ſeem to be in earneſt: They will not allow him to *ſpeak warmly*, to *move* in the Pulpit, or to preach *off his Notes.* All muſt be *dead*, *cold* Form to pleaſe them. If this humour be not ſuppreſt, and Preachers, generally (as all the Wiſe already do) don't take another courſe, the Church will never recover its juſt Intereſt, and Eſteem. Preaching muſt be more *Serious*, *Affectionate*, *Zealous*, this is in the power of every Preacher; to be *Profound*, and *Learned*, is *not ſo.* In the many poor inſufficient Livings we may not expect men of great, and deep Knowledg, and where ſuch are, *this Qualification* doth not recommend them to the generality of the People, their *Zeal* doth much more: In this the meaneſt Preachers may abound, and by this they will *affect* their Hearers, though *Wit*, and *ſhews* of *Learning* are wanting. *Theſe*, as things are, the *leaſt able* endeavour to oſtentate, and ſuch *moſt*; but the higheſt they can attain to, in it, is but *Pedantiſm*, and *Childiſhneſs*, which are deſpiſed by the Judicious, and not underſtood by the reſt; ſo that they loſe their end, and the end of Preaching more; they do no good, get no hold on the People; whereas did even *theſe* but aim at inſtructing the Ignorant ſeriouſly, and the exciting all to their Duty earneſtly, and devoutly, it would atone for their imperfections with the Judicious, and have good effect upon the reſt.

I have ſpoken freely in this Matter, under a great ſenſe of this Evil, and I hope I ſhall not be underſtood to reflect upon any worthy men of our Church, I deſign'd only to expreſs my juſt indignation againſt *wanton Witlings* (Preachers, and People) whoſe number, thanks be to God, leſſens daily, and among all Intelligent Church-men this way is exploded, and every where deſpiſed.

There is another Error in defect, in reference to Preaching, it is of thoſe that reckon it an *indifferent*, a meerly *humane* thing; when as it is certainly of *Divine* appointment, to continue to the end of the World, *Mat.* 28.20. We ought in the ſenſe of this, to be more frequent, and heedful, in our

attendance on Sermons than many are; and not ſhut out *Preaching* or *Hearing*, under pretence of Zeal for the *Church-Prayers.* Thoſe that pretend one Duty to the prejudice of another, do really care for neither. Our Zeal ſhould be *Uniform*, and reſpect every duty proportionably to the Dignity, and neceſſity of it. And if generally we had been *ſo diſpoſed*, thus *Zealous* as we ought, many of the People that now run away from our Communion, had ſtill been *ours.* They like *Presbyterians*, and other Sects, becauſe the Preachers are *earneſt*, and make ſhew of much Zeal (as the People alſo do) not becauſe they are for ſuch, or ſuch a *Church-Government*, for this, or that Opinion: The *multitude* underſtand not theſe things, follow them not for *that* Cauſe, but for the opinion they have of their being *Godly*, and *Zealous.* And we may be, we ſhould be as zealous for Religion, in the *true* Way, as they ſeem to be in the *wrong:* Our *Church* permits, requires this from us. We ought not to diſtinguiſh our ſelves from them by ſlighting, and avoiding the lawful expreſſions of Chriſtian Zeal; the Intereſt of our Church doth not require that, but the contrary. If our *Zeal* were more proportion'd to the *goodneſs* of our Cauſe, that goodneſs of our Cauſe would be more known, and acknowledg'd, and our Adverſaries would more eaſily be reconcil'd unto it.

CHAP. V.

V. ANother occaſion of our Dangers, is the contrary extream to our Coldneſs, *viz. Extravagant Zeal.* Here I ſhall firſt conſider the preſent fury of *Atheiſts* and *Infidels*, and then diſcourſe of other ſorts of intemperate Heat, and Wildneſs, that in the long run, will greatly befriend Popery.

Where

Where there were Atheiſts in *former* days, they hid their Heads, and were afraid, aſhamed, to appear, but in *theſe* they glory, they triumph: In no Age did they ever dare ſo openly, in no *Chriſtian*, in no *Heathen* Country. How common is it for lewd men, yea, for *green*, *untaught Youth*, to queſtion, diſpute, cavil at the moſt ſacred Articles of Religion: To do this in *Taverns*, *Coffee-Houſes*, in all Companies, in the preſence of the Miniſters of Religion, before *them* to chooſe? How will the young *Witlings* pride, and plume themſelves? How will they briſle, and perk up, when they talk with thoſe of the ſacred function againſt Religion? How do they *deſpiſe* their *Reaſons*, becauſe (forſooth) the thing they defend is their *Intereſt*; and vaunt their own arguments as *Demonſtrations*, when they are ſcarce *Senſe*? It would turn a man's Stomach to ſee the inſolence and folly of theſe bold Youngſters, which are a ſcandal to the Reformation, and give occaſion to our *Roman* Enemies to brand us all as *Atheiſts*, or not far from being *ſuch*; whereby they are hardned in their Way, and have great advantage to win more to them.

Particularly at this time theſe *Infidels* do *Popery* great ſervice. They are *violent* in their Out-crys againſt it, violent to Fury; none ſo fierce as they; of which there can be no Reaſon, but either the conſideration of their *Lands*, or *this*, that *Popery* is a *Religion*, (at leaſt it pretends unto it.) Now by this their clamour and fierceneſs, by their appearing ſo forward, ſo in the Front as it were, againſt *Popery*, they give occaſion to the *Papiſts* to think, and ſay that our Zeal is an *Heathen Perſecution* of *Chriſtianity*, that they are ſo malign'd, ſo oppoſed by us, becauſe they profeſs Religion, and are not Infidels: And it may ſuggeſt to others that are yet indifferent, that certainly there is ſome *great good* in Popery, that *ſuch* run upon it with ſuch violence; and 'tis natural to men to favour that, which the Wicked, and thoſe whoſe ways they have cauſe to abhor, diſlike, abominate, and flie out againſt.

So that, *theſe* harden *Papiſts*, and recommend their Religion; they render it leſs odious to *ſome*, becauſe 'tis *ſo* to them.

What evil have I done? ſaid the ſurprized Philoſopher, that *theſe* (the *Multitude*) applaud me. On the contrary, what good hath Popery done, that vile Atheiſts rage ſo againſt it? 'Tis a ſhame to be commended by ſome, and a praiſe to be condemn'd, and perſecuted by others. See, ſaith the *Papiſt*, who are furious againſt our Religion! They are the ſame that blaſpheme againſt God, diſpute his Being, burleſque his Word, deride his Son, deſpiſe, revile, trample on his Miniſters, of all ſorts; *theſe* Proteſtants lead you; *theſe* you *triumphantly* attend; *theſe* you voice up to be *Patriots*; *theſe* are they that ſhew moſt violent hate, and rage againſt us. Whoever gives occaſion to ſuch upbraidings as theſe, doth without doubt, credit and promote Popery; and this the forwardneſs of many Atheiſts hath done, and doth daily.

Now for Cure of theſe Miſchiefs, we ſhould every where diſown, declare againſt the *wildneſs* of theſe *Furies*; deſpiſe their pretended Zeal; and help; ſhame, and reprove their *Hypocriſie*; ſuffer them not to *name* Proteſtant Religion; decline their company; diſcountenance all they ſay, and all they do: Brand, hoot at them, let the World *ſee*, let our *Enemies ſee*, they are *not of us*, that we have nothing to do with them. Thus we ſhould do in *Charity* to them, (publick ſhame and reproach may do them more good than any other Method) this we owe to our ſelves, and to the honour of Religion, to vindicate it from the Scandal, and Reproach theſe vile men bring upon it. If ever there was a time for Zeal againſt *Atheiſts*, *Debauchees*, *Buffoons*, it is now. It is always ſeaſonable, now moſt ſo: *Theſe* are our principal Enemies, who whenever time ſerves will be as fierce againſt *us* (all ſorts and profeſſions of Religion) as they are now againſt the *Papiſts*. Theſe are the common Foes, enemies not only to Religion, but to all *Government*, and *Societies*; to *Mankind*: and ſhould be uſed as ſuch. *Theſe* permitted, cheriſh'd, will bring God's Judgments upon us, and poſſibly *Popery* as one. Let us then have no fellowſhip with thoſe men: And if any ſuch ſhould have crept into the *Parliament*, it were infinitly

to

to be wiſh'd that the Zeal of that Aſſembly would purge them out, like droſs, fit for no uſe, or rather, as what is moſt *offenſive*, and *deſtructive*. They have done ſo by the *Papiſts*; all good men deſire, and pray they may do the ſame by *theſe*.

If any thing *unqualifies* for that ſervice, one would think *Atheiſm*, and *Irreligion* ſhould. What bleſſing can be expected on publick Councils, when *theſe* are mingled. Where *they* are they will diſturb all, break all, make all ineffectual. We are not to look on the Dangers we apprehend as proceeding only from common, natural Cauſes; no, *The Hand of God is in them*; they are *His* Judgments, as for our other Crying Sins, ſo particularly for reigning *Atheiſm*, and contempt of Religion: And if we expect help, and ſafety from the objects of our Fears, we muſt endeavour to make our peace with Him, by repenting of all our Sins, and particularly by expreſſing our Zeal againſt theſe *greateſt*, *worſt*, the root of all the reſt. And it is vehemently to be deſired, that our *Repreſentatives* in *Parliament* would begin here, lay the *Ax* at the *root*, by effectual Laws cruſh this *daring*, *comprehenſive* Impiety, and make it *Capital*; as of all Crimes it chiefly deſerves. Let us firſt ſettle *this Point*, that we are to have *ſome Religion*, and then make what further proviſion we can againſt a *corrupt*, a *bad one*. Let us vindicate, and aſſert the Honour of God, and our Common Saviour, and then we may expect the Divine Bleſſing and Aſſiſtance in the reſt.

But beſides the *fierceneſs* of the *Atheiſts*, there is an *extravagant*, *miſtaken Zeal of others*, *that is a great occaſion of our Dangers*. *Honeſt*, *intelligent* Zeal is neceſſary for our Security and Settlement, but the exceſſes of *blind*, *ungovern'd* Rage are moſt miſchievous, and deſtructive; I ſhall note ſome unhappy Inſtances of it that belong to our *preſent ſtate*, and render it very dangerous, *viz. Such* as have relation to our *oppoſitions* of *Popery*. That the Nation is ſo awakened, ſo unanimous in deteſting the falſe worſhip and ways of the *Roman* Church is matter of rejoycing, and acknowledgment: But we ought to have

have care, that our Zeal do not tranſport us to *Extreams.* I ſhall conſider one great Inſtance, which is, *Mens multiplying the numbers of Papiſts beyond all bounds of truth.* I would by no means leſſen any juſt apprehenſions of our Dangers, or ſay any thing that might tend to the remitting of due Caution, or Diligence: I know the greateſt Prudence, and Care is needful: But our Fears may be extream, and unreaſonable, and great dangers may ariſe from thoſe, as *great* from our *over-magnifying* our Perils, as from *not duly apprehending* them: And this way the things we fear have been incouraged, and promoted. People are apt to talk of the numbers, and ſtrength of *Papiſts*, and no doubt deſign them not any ſervice by it; but really, *they* are thereby incouraged, they thence flatter their vain hopes, thence they are animated to Plot, to Attempt, being acknowledg'd ſo numerous, ſo powerful; hearing that they have ſo many open Friends, and ſo many others that will be ready to joyn with them when there is occaſion, and being apt to believe what they have ſo much reaſon to deſire, they are pufft with vain confidence, and are full of reſtleſs contrivances to effect that, which they are made believe is ſo feiſable. Whereas did they know how *inconſiderable* their real numbers are, they muſt certainly ſit down, and be quiet. They would then underſtand that their buſineſs is unpracticable; private Perſons would be diſcouraged, and if there ſhould ſucceed a Prince of their Religion, in all probability, he alſo would deſpond, and never think of attempting a thing, humanely ſpeaking, ſo impoſſible; a thing, the endeavouring which would certainly tear all in pieces, *Religion*, *Government*, and all: And what the late Deſigns have done towards it we all ſadly ſee. Therefore, that they may ſee their deſigns are *Madneſs*, and that they ought to deſpair of ever ſucceeding by their ſtrength, we ſhould let them know that they have abuſed themſelves, and others have abuſed them, by falſe Muſters.

In the Year 167$\frac{4}{7}$. Orders came from the *Arch-Biſhop* to the ſeveral *Biſhops*, and from them to the reſpective *Miniſters*, and

and Church-wardens in the Province of *Canterbury*, to inquire carefully, and to return an account of the diſtinct numbers of *Conformiſts*, *Proteſtant Non-conformiſts*, and *Papiſts*, in their ſeveral Pariſhes, *viz.* Of all ſuch men, and women that were of age to Communicate. I have by me the return from the whole Province, which contains all *England* and *Wales*, excepting only what belongs to four of the twenty five Biſhopricks. The number of *Papiſts* there returned, was but Eleven thouſand, eight hundred, and ſeventy, men and women, old and young. Now though in this account, *Conformiſts*, and other *Non-conformiſts* were not ſo diſtinctly, could not ſo juſtly be reckon'd, yet for the *Papiſts*, they being ſo few in each Pariſh, and ſo notoriouſly diſtinguiſh'd as generally they are, the *Miniſters*, and *Church-wardens* could eaſily give account of *them*; and there is no reaſon to ſuſpect their *partiality*. We hear, I know, that in *London* alone, and in ſome particular Pariſhes, of that, and the neighbour City, there are vaſtly greater numbers. But *within the Walls*, they are known to be very few, *comparatively* ſcarce any ſuch. In the *Suburbs* they are ſaid to be *numerous*, (ſtill the *great* numbers are in places *remote*, or where inquiry *cannot be well made.*) In St. *Martins* alone, I have heard of *twenty*, or *thirty* thouſand; but the Account was taken there, and as exact a one as could be; and I am aſſured by ſome that *ſhould* know, and had no reaſon to miſinform me, that the number returned upon the moſt careful ſcrutiny, was about ſix hundred: Of *Lodgers* there might be more, but *they* are ſuppoſed to be accounted elſewhere, in the ſeveral Pariſhes to which they belong. I have found the like fallings ſhort of the reputed number in divers other noted places. In one City talkt of for *Papiſts*, as if half the Inhabitants were ſuch, I am aſſured there are not twenty, men and women: In another large and populous one, a perſon of Quality living in it, told me, there were at leaſt ſix hundred; but when the inquiry was made by the Miniſters, and Church-wardens of each Pariſh, the number was not found to be ſixty: And 'tis very probable ſuch a diſproportion would be

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met between the *reputed*, and *real* numbers in all other places, if ſcrutiny were made. In all the Weſt, and moſt populous part of *England* they are very inconſiderable: I hear frequently from Inhabitants of thoſe Places, that in *Briſtol* (the ſecond or third City of *England*) there is but *one*; and in the City of *Gloceſter one*, more, or two at moſt; in the other great Towns, and Cities Weſtward, ſcarce any; and thoſe that are in the Counties at large, are extremely *few*, thinly ſcattered, here *one*, and at the diſtance of many Miles, it may be, *another*: Some few decaied Gentry, and here and there an inconſiderable Country-man, or Tradeſman, very few of Note, or Riches, of either ſort. And if an exact account were taken of their numbers, and condition, from *London* to the *Mount* in *Cornwal*, *Weſtward*, the inconſiderableneſs of both would exceedingly ſurpriſe us: And I am very confident, that of all ſorts of men, differing from the *Church* of *England*, in the Kingdom, the *Papiſts* are the feweſt; and thoſe that are, are ſo ſcattered, and live ſo diſtantly from each other, that 'tis really very little they are capable of doing, in oppoſition to the reſt of the Nation; and the leſs, becauſe of the great jealouſie and hatred, that all univerſally have conceiv'd of, and againſt them.

We hear of vaſt numbers in the *North*; and there are more, no doubt, in *thoſe* parts, than in the *Weſtern*, but I believe they are much fewer than we hear, and no way able by their numbers, to make any kind of Ballance for the exceeding *diſproportion* in the *Weſt*.

The truth is, People are mightily given, and generally ſo, to *multiply* the number of *Papiſts*, and they do it in common talk, at leaſt ten-fold. Deſigns have been, and I doubt, are ſtill carrying on, which this pretence ſerves: A chief thing to be done in order to publick Miſchief, is to affright the People with the number and ſtrength of *Papiſts*: And I believe if there were but ten of that ſort in the Nation, it would be the ſame thing. God forbid I ſhould diminiſh the real force of our Enemies, or endeavour to render us ſecure in Dangers; The *malignity* and principles of *Papiſts*, their unwearied Zeal,

and

and diligence to overthrow our Religion, I very well know, and thank God that the whole Kingdom is awakned to apprehend theſe; but I think, we ſhall incourage *them*, and diſhearten *our ſelves*, if we *over-magnifie* their ſtrength, and thereby give occaſion to *other Plots* of as *dangerous* a nature as *theirs*.

But to all this, I know ſome will ſay, that though their numbers here are not conſiderable, yet they are very formidable upon the account of *foreign Friends and Correſpondents:* And our danger from *Abroad* is really great; but not much the *more* on the account of Domeſtick Papiſts, whatever they vainly perſuaded themſelves: If our Neighbours ſhould invade us, *They*, if they ſhould be ſo diſpoſed, could do them but little ſervice; we know their aſſiſtance in the late Wars where they joyn'd, was not very conſiderable; And now, their numbers being ſo *ſmall*, and they being ſo *diſperſt*, and *mingled*; they being ſo *hated*, and every Neighbour having ſo watchful, and concern'd an Eye upon every one of them, they could ſcarce ſignifie any thing; yea, it may be thought, conſidering how things are, that in ſuch a Caſe, the fury of the People would offer them immediate Violence, and prevent their doing that little they otherwiſe might.

All this, Sir, I ſay to ſhew, how little ſenſe, and reaſon there is in the *Popiſh Plots*, and how much better it would be for them for ever to deſiſt, and to ſit down in deſperation of ſucceſs. And if a *Popiſh Prince* ſhould come to rule over us, if he knew the real ſtate of things, and the weakneſs of that party, he would never think of reducing the Nation to that Religion, which cannot be effected but by Miracle. The very *attempt* would hazard the ruining *him*, and the *Monarchy* for ever. The meer jealouſie (though moſt groundleſs) ruined one *Proteſtant King*, and we ſee in what danger it hath put another.

And if things are thus (as I am confident upon examination, and trial you will find) let us take care that we *promote* not *Popery* by ſtrengthening the hopes of *Papiſts*; let us not hear-

ten them by falſe accounts of their numbers, and their ſtrength, and thereby inſpire them with courage to Plot againſt us. The better way I think would be, to let them ſee we *deſpiſe* them; and to know how *phantaſtical* and *ſenſleſs* their hopes are: This would really diſable them, break their Courage, and in likelihood put an end to their audacious Projects, from which we have ſuch frequent diſturbance.

But we *hear*, and *they* are told, they have many *ſecret* friends, *Papiſts* in *their hearts*, who will be ready to help them, when time ſhall ſerve: By this way the number of *Papiſts* is ſupplied, and thoſe that have ends to ſerve by it, may make it what they pleaſe. I ſhall not deny, but that they may have ſome under-hand ſecret favourers, or that there may be divers ſuch in *Maſquerade* among the Sects: But is it likely, that thoſe, whoſe caution and intereſt, hath kept them all this while from appearing, or declaring in times when they ſafely might have done it, ſhould venture all againſt the excited rage of the whole Nation, in ſo deſperate a Cauſe? Or, if the number of theſe were added, would it make any proportion to the open declared Enemies of that Religion? If they ſhould lean upon ſuch hopes, I doubt not but they would prove broken Reeds that would fail, and ſuffer them to ſink to the Ground.

And here I cannot but take notice of an intolerable Practice, extremely prejudicial to the Proteſtant Intereſt, and Religion, every where now prevailing, it is, the *Stigmatizing* every one that we diſlike, or hate, or deſign againſt, with the brand of Popery. If a Gentleman ſtands to be a Member of Parliament, that is not a *Fanatick*, he is in *their* Mouths preſently a *Papiſt*: If one ſpeak but an earneſt word for the Government, and eſtabliſhments either in Church, or State that croſſeth, and ſtops ſome mens contrary violence, he is a *Papiſt*. If a Miniſter preach up the Peaceable, healing Chriſtian Spirit, and Principles in oppoſition to Madneſs, and wild Rage, he is a *Papiſt*. If a man doth not believe every ſeditious lye that is publiſh'd in the *Domeſtick Intelligence*, and Coffee-houſe Letters, he is a *Papiſt*. So that I am afraid the time is near (if

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ſeaſonable ſtop be not put to this Rage) when every Friend to the King, and Church, ſhall be a *Papiſt.*

If there are not *real* Papiſts in the Nation enough to keep us in eternal frights, till theſe Plotters have done with us what they pleaſe, they will make *more*, and we ſhall have enough ere they have done. Firſt, They make the *Biſhops*, and all the *Conformable Clergie ſuch*: We know they had concluded all the former but three, a pretty while ago; and they are continually labouring by ſcandalous Reflections, and downright Reproaches, in their common Diſcourſes, and their more publick lying News, to blaſt the whole *Regular* Clergy, as *Papiſts* in *Maſquerade*, (as they phraſe it) or *favourers* of *Popery* at leaſt. And though theſe have been always, and ſtill are (as I have ſhewn) the ſtout, zealous defenders of the *Proteſtant* Cauſe, though they are the only ſignificant oppoſers (in their way) of Popiſh Errors, and Superſtitions; though they expoſe them daily by their learned Books, and Sermons, and no ſort, no order of men in the World ever did it *more*, nor *ſo much*; yet all this is nothing, it ſhall notwithſtanding be in the power of every contemptible *Pamphleteer*, of every *Atheiſt*, of every *Fanatick*, to blaſt any one, yea, the whole Body of theſe men, with the reproach of being *Papiſts*; an Out-rage, and Barbariſm ſcarce ever heard of in other Places, and Times: And a ſort of men there are that have no manner of pretence to any Religion, but *this* of calling every one that is not as Senſleſs, or as Atheiſtical as themſelves, *Papiſts:* Thoſe that know not their *Catechiſms*, that underſtand no more what *Popery* is than what is the Religion of *China*, or the moſt remote parts of *America*; that never did, and never will ſpeak one reaſonable word againſt *that* Way, nor *for any*; yet *theſe* ſhall impudently caſt the ſcandal of *Popery* upon the moſt learned, moſt active, and moſt ſubſtantial Enemies *that* Religion hath in the World: Juſt as if a man ſhould ſay, the *Pope, Cardinals, and all the Jeſuits, are Proteſtants in Maſquerade.* This is intolerable inſolence, and injuſtice, moſt ſcandalous, and deſtructive to our Proteſtant Profeſſion, and to

Chriſtianity it ſelf; contrary to all Charity, Modeſty, Truth, and common Honeſty; and nothing could more incourage, and promote the ends, and deſigns of *Papiſts.*

For if this be ſo, if thoſe that have ſtudied the Points ſo throughly, have been ſo converſant in the *Scriptures*, and *Eccleſiaſtical Antiquity*, who have read the Books of all ſides, and have learning to judg, if *they* are *Papiſts*, or inclined to them; If they are *ſo* in ſpight of all their Intereſts, the zeal of their contrary Profeſſion, and all their ſharp Books, and Sermons againſt it, then certainly, may men think, this *Popery* hath ſomewhat in it more *Chriſtian*, more *reaſonable* than we have been aware, and it is not the Bugbear we have been made believe: Thus may People be tempted to favourable thoughts of *Popery* by this unchriſtian practice; and this puts the chief Fort we have againſt them, the *Church of England*, into their hands; it begets infinite animoſities, hatreds, and jealouſies among our ſelves, ſo that at laſt we ſhall not be able to tell whom to truſt, who is a Friend, or who an Enemy, and hereby ſhall be rendred weak, and eaſie to be deſtroyed: This *recommends Popery* as a Religion that hath the *Hearts of all men*, and ſuppoſeth that *every one* would be a *Papiſt* if he *durſt*; which is ſo far from being true, that conſidering how contrary that Religion is to *Senſe*, *Reaſon*, *Scripture*, and *Antiquity*, 'tis almoſt a wonder any one ſhould be of it, whom *Intereſt*, or *Education* hath not irreſiſtibly ingaged.

And 'tis ſtrange to ſee how ſlippery, and uncertain mens ſayings are, for I have heard the ſame ſort affirm often, (reflecting upon the non-ſenſe of that Religion) that they think the *Jeſuits*, and other learned men among them do not in their Hearts believe it themſelves: and yet *now*, when the contrary talk will ſerve a miſchievous turn, every *Proteſtant*, every *Learned* man, every *other man*, that is not of their way, or mind, ſhall, when they pleaſe, be a *Papiſt in his heart.* The Jeſuits are not *Papiſts* in their Hearts, but *Proteſtants*, whoſe *Education*, *Intereſt*, *Studies*, *Profeſſion*, *Labours* have been ſtill againſt them, are *ſo* in *theirs*: Which beſides

ſides the other extravagances of it, is impious uſurping the Prerogative of God of *ſearching Hearts*: and at this rate even our *Thoughts* are not *free*; we ſhall not *think* what we *can*, but what theſe ſtrange cenſurers pleaſe: And here is taking away *Liberty* of *Conſcience* with a witneſs. 'Tis in vain to urge to them that we *profeſs* our ſelves Proteſtants, that we always did ſo, that we *practiſe* according to that profeſſion, frequent the *Proteſtant Worſhip*, *Prayers*, *Sermons*, *Sacraments*, have taken the *Oathes* of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, and are ready to take any *Teſt* againſt *Popery*; this will not do, all is nothing, *we may have Diſpenſations for all this*, and be *Papiſts* notwithſtanding: According to which rule of judging, 'tis impoſſible to diſtinguiſh a *Proteſtant* from a *Papiſt*: And then the cenſurers are *Papiſts*, the *Presbyterians*, *Independents*, *Anabaptiſts*, *Quakers*, the moſt eminent, the moſt zealous of them, every Mothers ſon, are all *Papiſts*, when any one hath a mind to call them ſo, and there is no poſſible way for them to clear themſelves; nor is there any poſſible way for any ſort of men to be *Proteſtants* but by being *loudeſt* and *ſtrongeſt*, and able to *knock the reſt on the head.* If any call us *Papiſts*, there is no way to *ſtop their mouths* but by *cutting their Throats*: Lo! here is foundation laid for our *Maſſacring* one another, and doing the *Papiſts* buſineſs to their hands: 'Tis but for the prevailing Party to call the reſt *Papiſts*, and they can never anſwer it, they muſt be *ſo*, and there is no help; and ſo they unavoidably fall under all the Rage, and Fury that is, or may further be raiſed againſt thoſe our common Enemies.

Now according to *this* proceeding, *Papiſts* are indeed very *numerous*, and there are *ſcarce any* Proteſtants; yea, there are *none* at all; there are none but one ſide or other hath call'd *Papiſts*, and do; and none (not one of them) by this rule, can clear themſelves, and prove they are not ſo: ſo that as ſoon as they are *accuſed* they are *mute*, and the matter muſt be taken *Pro confeſſo.* No man is clear from being a *Papiſt*, but he that is not accuſed; and ſo his clearneſs is only his good luck, that he hath not Enemies, or that charge hath not yet

come

come into his enemies Heads, or into their Tongues; as ſoon as it doth, he is gone too.

You ſee what Confuſion this involves us in, it daſhes us one againſt another, and blows up all *Proteſtants* at once; more generally, more effectually, than any *Powder Plot* can, or ever could do. So that we may juſtly ſay, that ſuch Cenſurers as theſe are *promoters* of *Popery* and *Popiſh* deſigns in an high degree. And who-ever invented this piece of Miſchief, whether *Devil*, or *Jeſuits*, or our *own Malice*, and *Rage*, 'tis one of the moſt deſtructive Engines that ever was formed againſt us. For it throws us all into the *Dark*, full of Rage, and Fury, where we are provoked to fight and lay about us, but have not one glimps of light to ſee a *Friend* from a *Foe*. And when things are come to this paſs, *Papiſts* may forbear *Plotting*, we ſhall do their work our ſelves.

Now to Cure theſe evils, and to prevent the Dangers they threaten, it is greatly to be deſired, if the preſent ways of *diſcovering Papiſts* are not ſufficient, that ſome other *Teſt*, the beſt that can, were made; and when that is done, it ſhould be made highly *Actionable*, by a particular, ſtrict, ſevere Law, to call any one *Papiſt*, that hath taken the *legal Teſt*. For 'tis intolerable that the greateſt, and moſt dangerous reproach poſſible (as that now is) ſhould be faſtned upon a man by whoever pleaſeth, and that there ſhould be no remedy, nor as much as any way of clearing. In other Caſes, the Law takes care of mens *Names*, as well as of their *Eſtates*, and there is no reaſon but it ſhould, they are, and ought to be as dear to us, and our greateſt Intereſts depend on their ſecurity: And if it be not done in *this* Caſe, here wants one great proviſion for the *Liberty* of the *Subject*, and our common ſafety from *Tyranny*, and *Arbitrary Power*. There is nothing in the world more *Arbitrary* than mens *Tongues* let looſe, and if they are not reſtrain'd, and tied up *here*, as in other Caſes, we are *all Slaves*, and all expoſed to ſuffer the greateſt Evils from one another without any way of Redreſs; and ſo fall into a ſtate of War. This is a *real*, and mighty *Grievance*, and 'tis to be deſired,

and

and hoped, that ſuitable Proviſion will be made againſt it.

There is yet another branch of this Folly, and Injuſtice, which is, *uncharitable Cenſure*, and *ſuſpicion* of all that turn from Popery, as if they were *really*, and at the bottom the *ſame* ſtill. Some men are for keeping up their numbers full, and will not allow of their Converſion, except they are converted over to their Sect, or ſome way, or other ſerve their Intereſt; except they run with them in the ways of Schiſm, and are factious againſt the Government; if they do thus, they are dear applauded Converts; but otherwiſe, if they are only come into the Church of *England*, and ſtick there, if they are friends to the King, and aſſert *Him*, and the eſtabliſh'd Order in Church and State; they ſhall be *Papiſts ſtill*, in ſpight of them.

There are many Inſtances of this unworthineſs, but among them all there is not a greater, than in the caſe of an eminent Nobleman, which you and I have had diſcourſe of. His Anceſtors, *moſt* of them (perhaps) were *Papiſts*; *all* were not ſo, for the great Grand-father was Lord Privy Seal to Queen *Elizabeth*. The Lord that now is, hath profeſt the Proteſtant Religion theſe thirty Years, that is, as long as he hath been capable of making a judgment for himſelf: He married a great Lady, an eminent *Proteſtant*, of a famous, zealous *Proteſtant* Family; hath for many Years, (fifteen, or ſixteen to my knowledg) kept a *Proteſtant* Chaplain, of the Church of *England*, in his Houſe, who hath read the Publick Liturgy twice every day there; his Lordſhip hath always accuſtomed to be preſent at them, and uſeth to be as regular in thoſe Devotions as any Member of our Church can be: And not only *ſo*, but he frequents the *Communions* alſo, which at the appointed times are there duly Adminiſtred: His *Children* likewiſe are carefully bred in the *Proteſtant* Way of the Church of *England*. Some two or three old Servants his Lordſhip hath, who have lived all their days in the Family (of the *Popiſh* Religion) they being ancient, and having no other dependance, my Lord ſtill keeps them there (and

'twould

'twould be very unbecoming his Nobleneſs to do otherwiſe) but all the Servants *elſe* are *Proteſtants*: And I know that both this Lord and his Lady take great care to have them all receive the holy Communion according to the Church of *England.* And it was not long ſince that his Lordſhip himſelf ſpoke to a Divine of our Church, whom he ſent for on purpoſe, to inſtruct his eldeſt Daughter, (then newly of Years for it) in order to the receiving the Sacrament, which the young Lady piouſly did, as the courſe of the Family is. This Lord you know is in great Command, and by the Laws is obliged to give all other proofs, which I dare ſay he ſincerely doth: He is a Member of his Majeſty's Council, of *this*, as well as of the *former*, and to all *Acts* of Council againſt the *Papiſts*, his Name is ſtill one: And yet notwithſtanding *all this*, ſuch is the perverſneſs, and malice of ſome men, that they voice him up for a *Papiſt*, though all things he doth, and all things he ſaith declare the contrary; and they ſeem reſolved that ſo it ſhall be, let his Lordſhip ſay, or do what he will. This is ſtrange Treatment, and looks as if we wanted *Papiſts*, and were reſolv'd to make as many as we can poſſibly find any colour for: It ſhews that thoſe men really do not fear them, but rather fear the want of them, to furniſh out pretence for their Deſigns, and Projects. Otherwiſe, 'twere very ſtrange that ſo great a Perſon, and his Family, ſhould not be welcomed, and joyfully received into our *Proteſtant* Communion; and other Noblemen of the Popiſh Religion incouraged by the civil, and kind reception, to do the like: But it being ſo much otherwiſe in *this*, and many other Caſes, it is plain, that notwithſtanding all their clamour, and talk, ſome men deſire there ſhould be more *Papiſts*, than really are, for colour, and ſhew, to aſſiſt and countenance their Stratagems, and perpetual contrivances againſt the Government, both in *Church*, and *State.* Whatever they have a mind to overthrow, and deſtroy, they mark with the brand of *Popiſh*, or *Popiſhly affected*, whether with Reaſon, or without any, matters not. *Popery* is, (and juſtly ſo) the object of the greateſt hatred and the moſt general,

general, ſo that 'tis but ſpending this Imputation on thoſe we would ruine, and their buſineſs is near done.

Whether this be not the reaſon of the preſent injuſtice, (of this kind) offered, to the Church of *England*, and eſpecially to her Clergy, let thoſe that know ſome men, and their manner, judge. They are ſure the Church-men (Divines, and others) will adhere to the Government, and are not to be drawn into their ways; and the grand Buſineſs of ſome is to overthrow the *Church* and *them*; ſo that they muſt be branded, blackned, and rendred popularly odious; and what ſo effectually doth that, as putting the *Comprehenſive mark* of *all miſchief*, that of *Popery*, upon them. But on the Contrary, all thoſe they ſhall have occaſion to uſe in order to their deſtructive deſigns, ſhall be united in the dear name of *Proteſtants*. 'Tis no matter though many are *Atheiſts*, many *Debauches*, meer *Worldlings*, and *Politicians*, ſome acting from malice, and revenge, ſome from ambition, ſome to repair their broken fortunes by a ſhuffle, ſome out of greedy deſire to be fingring Church-Lands again; yet all declaring againſt Popery, are *Proteſtants*, though they never heard themſelves reckoned of any Religion before. So the *Sects*, of all denominations, that agree ſcarce in any thing *poſitive*, that hate, and vilify each other, and will ſcarce allow that any but themſelves are Chriſtians; yet *theſe* alſo are all *tack't* together by the kind denomination of being *Proteſtants*. All but *we* of the *Church* of *England* are *ſo*, that is, Thoſe that are of no Religion, and never pretended to be of any; thoſe that were bred of the *Papiſts*, and taught their Principles by the *Papiſts*; thoſe that never took *Oaths*, or *Teſts* againſt Popery, and that (many of them) refuſe to take any: Or to give any legal ſecurity to the publick that they are not Papiſts; theſe are *Proteſtants*, *the Proteſtants*: But thoſe that profeſs the *Primitive Chriſtianity* reform'd by our *Martyrs* from Roman errors, and corruptions, and eſtabliſh't by our Laws; Thoſe that have publickly bound themſelves to this *truely Proteſtant* Religion, by *Subſcriptions*, *Oaths*, *Sacraments*, *Teſts*, (all the ways that the wiſdom of the nation can find out for ſecurity) theſe are *Papiſts*, *Popiſhly affected*, *Papiſts in Maſquerade!*

Sir, I ſpeak nothing of this to expoſe, vilify, or affront any; but out of tender regard to the honour of the Proteſtant name, which muſt needs ſuffer by ſuch courſes, I pray God preſerve us from the ill conſequences of proceedings that are ſo partial, and unjuſt, and that Popery in the event have not the advantages by them that they ſo fairly offer it.

I hope you do not underſtand me, as if I intended that all were Atheiſts, Debauches, *&c.* that *ſeem* now to be over-run with an extravagant zeal and violence, and that wrongfully charge the Church of *England.* No; I know what allowances are to be made for mens miſtakes, who are abuſed by the cunning deceits of crafty deſigns. Many honeſt, and Religious perſons are ſo miſſlead at this time: and thoſe I pity, and pray for. But that there are many wicked men of the ſorts I have deſcribed, ſtudying, and endeavouring the ruine both of Church, and State, you cannot but apprehend; and thoſe it is that I humbly caution you againſt. And if ever Popery have any conſiderable advantage in this Nation, it will be by their means. The *miſtakes* of furious Zeal *againſt* Popery may effect that, which all the *direct* Zeal in the world *for* it, would never be able to bring about. 'Tis *ſobriety* that muſt ſettle, and ſecure us.

SIR,

I Have thus written to you with honeſt plainneſs, and freedom, ſuch as becomes an Engliſh-man, and a ſincere Member of the Church of *England.* To the ſame purpoſe I have ſpoken to others, as I have had occaſion, with no other deſign but of ſerving the *Government,* and *Proteſtant Religion* by Law Eſtabliſh'd, to which by the Grace of God, while I live, I will adhere. But for this innocent ſort of diſcourſe I have ſuffer'd ſeverely from the fierce Zeal I have deſcribed, and have been Stigmatized by it as a *Papiſt,* a *denier* of the *Plot,* and an *Enemy* to *Parliaments.* I have reaſon to think that you have heard theſe injurious things of me, and becauſe you have not ſeen me of late, and do not know how I may be

be changed, I ſhall trouble you with a ſhort account of my ſelf, in reference to theſe Charges.

For *Popery*, I always was as hearty an Enemy to it as any man that lives, and have declared that Emnity by ſuch zealous, frequent and publick oppoſitions as would expoſe me to the greateſt rigours and perſecutions of that Church, ſhould it (which God forbid) ever regain Authority, and power in this Nation; Beſides that I muſt certainly, unavoidably ſuffer the loſs of all under it. I ſay, I have publickly, ſolemnly, earneſtly declared againſt Popery, ever ſince I was capable of examining and knowing it; I have repreſented the *Idolatries*, *Superſtitions*, *Hereſies*, *Immoralities*, *Novelties*, *Abſurdities*, *Nonſenſe*, and all the *Antichriſtianiſm* of that Church, with as much earneſtneſs and plainneſs, as any man in my ſtation hath or can do. I have done it always, on all occaſions, and particularly ſince the late Plot, and *often ſince*, (and our dangers require this Zeal from us.) *Such* a *Papiſt*, Sir, I am: One that never thought of that Religion, but to deteſt it: And this inclination and reſolution, by the help of God, I ſhall carry to my Grave.

As to the *Plot*, I have reaſon'd about Circumſtances, and ſpoken of the folly, and infatuation of the Contrivance, and management by the *Papiſts*; I have laught at many Coffee-houſe Stories, and Terrors, for which there was no evidence; I have been ſenſible of other Plots, and Deſigns built on the occaſion of the Popiſh one, and have ſpoken of thoſe, with concernment, as in theſe Papers I have done: But as here (all along) I *ſuppoſe* the grand Popiſh Plot, and own there was ſuch a one; ſo in all Converſations, I have acknowledg'd the Plot, and ſee too much cauſe to believe the late Deſigns, and endeavours of *Papiſts* to work our Ruine. I know enough of the malignity of their Principles, and the vileneſs of their Practices (of this ſort) to diſpoſe me to receive the Evidence.

As to the laſt charge, I heartily reverence the *Conſtitution*, and reſpect Parliaments as much as any Friend to the Govern-

ment can do. I know their *uſefulneſs*, their *neceſſity*, and the veneration that is due to the *Repreſentatives* of a great Nation, and of our *own*. But after all, this Body how great, how venerable ſoever, owns it ſelf to be *Fallible*; and as all men take the liberty to blame what they diſlike in publick proceedings, and even in theirs; ſo have I ſometimes taken notice of ſuch Miſtakes, and Miſcarriages as the violence and deſigns of ill men have led that Aſſembly into. Notwithſtanding which, I can truly ſay, I honour *Sober*, *Religious*, and *Loyal* Parliaments, as much as any man. And I hope *this*, when it meets, will prove it ſelf to be *ſuch*, to the confuſion of all *Popiſh* and *Fanatical* Deſigns, and the eſtabliſhment of our *Religion*, *Peace*, and a *laſting Happineſs*. This is my conſtant Prayer to Almighty God for Them; and to this every true Engliſh-man will ſay *Amen*.

I have been a little tedious, and perhaps impertinent in this Apology; but I hope you will pardon it, as an effect of the great deſire I have to preſerve my ſelf in your good opinion, which I hope I ſhall never forfeit by deſerving ſuch Characters as the fiercenes of ſome would faſten on me: But always continue as I am, a ſincere lover of the true Proteſtant Religion, an affectionate Friend, and Subject to the Government, in Church, and State, as now eſtabliſh'd: And particularly to your ſelf,

Sir,

An humble and

faithful Servant.

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FINIS.

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Advertisement concerning the ERRATA.

THe Reader is desired to take notice of the following Errors of the Press: Some of them (especially in the first, second, and fifth Pages) are Alterations of the Copy; others are, mostly mispointings, but *such* as perplex, and alter the Sense: The rest I leave to common Ingenuity, and Charity.

Errata.

Page 1. Line 18. Read *England*, the Protestant Reformation. p. 2. l. 6. r. is that which we call the *Church of England*. p. 5. l. 21. r. Patrons of the notion. p. 7. l. 26. r. model. p. 15. l. 21. r. wrest their Rights from them. p. 33. l. 4. r. decent, uncall'd, to offer their opinion. l. 5. r. I think. p. 40. l. 9. r. wittifizing way. p. 44. l. 17. r. Zeal, and help. p. 47. l. 3. r. *Protestant Non-conformists*. l. 28. r. to which. l. 32. r. populous. p. 48. l. 6. r. one more, or two (at most.)